THE UNIVERSITY OF
WARWICK

University of Warwick institutional repository: http://go.warwick.ac.uk/wrap

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of Warwick

http://go.warwick.ac.uk/wrap/69999

This thesis is made available online and is protected by original copyright.

Please scroll down to view the document itself.

Please refer to the repository record for this item for information to help you to cite it. Our policy information is available from the repository home page.

An examination of inequalities in a Comprehensive School in an area of high disadvantage: what do student and practitioner perceptions tell us about the relationship between current and historical inequalities in English schools?

By

Austin Owen Griffiths

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of Warwick, Centre for Education Studies
January 2015

Contents Page

List of Tables Page

List of Figures

i. Acknowledgements and Declarations

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all those who have supported me in the completion of this thesis. This includes my supervisor and fellow researchers at Warwick University whose encouragement and opinions have been invaluable, and my colleagues and students at De Montfort University who have shown a great interest in my work. Also, I am indebted my family who have both given me the time do my research, and reminded me of the importance of laughter, relaxation, and the enjoyment of everyday things. Last, but not least, I want to thank the students and staff of the school where this study took place. I was a teacher at the school for five wonderful years. Although it was hard work, it was a privilege to teach alongside such dedicated colleagues and such a fantastic group of young people. Particularly, I would like to thank the head-teacher who allowed the research to take place, and all the people who generously supplied the data that was used.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is submitted to the University of Warwick in support of my application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It has been composed by myself and has not been submitted in any previous application for any degree.

ii. Abstract

This study examined the assertion that, in spite of the twenty-first century rhetoric of equality in English education, class and values based prejudice in schools remains strong. It particularly explored how practitioners perceived different groups of students, students' self-reported attitudes to school, and whether or not the between-group differences perceived by practitioners reflected the self-reported views of students. Furthermore it examined whether practitioners' perceptions of students were linked to gender, SEN, ethnicity, academic ability, or economic, familial, and cultural capitals, and whether students with socio-economic status and cultural capital closest to that of practitioners were viewed more positively than other students. Finally, it questioned whether school practice widened the achievement and attitudinal gaps between different groups of students.

The study followed 156 students for their first four terms in secondary school. Student questionnaires were used to create group profiles for initial and post-first-year attitudes, academic self-concept; cultural capital, and socio-economic capital. Practitioner perceptions of students used teacher-awarded motivation grades, detention and behaviour logs, ability-group placements, and questionnaires with pastoral managers. Analytical procedures included factor analyses, comparisons of means, and a regression analysis.

The findings showed that practitioner-perceived group differences were much larger than the differences perceived by students. Practitioners perceived larger differences between English ability groups compared to Maths groups. Also, practitioners perceived girls and high cultural capital students as more motivated and in-tune with school values than others. Poorer male students, SEN students, and students with a single parent were perceived less positively than others. An elite group of students had more economic and cultural capital than others, and were viewed very positively by practitioners. There was a suggestion that non-white students were not viewed as positively as they should have been. The study suggested a need to further explore the situation of mixed-heritage children.

The study suggested that teachers as individuals, and schools as institutions, need to question whether they discriminate against poorer students and those with cultural capital different from their own. They also need to question whether they are gender stereotyping and ask if they are offering boys from disadvantaged backgrounds an appropriate curriculum delivered in an effective pedagogical style. The findings of this study had important policy implications for pedagogy, curriculum content, school organization, and equal opportunities. They suggested that some practices exacerbated pre-existing achievement and attitudinal gaps.

iii. Abbreviations used

ADH/ADHD - Attention deficit hyperactivity disorder

ASD - Autism Spectrum Disorder

CSE – Certificate of Secondary Education

DCLG - Department for Communities and Local Government (UK)

DCSF - Department for Children, Schools, and Families (UK)

DENI - Department for Education, Northern Ireland

DfE - Department for Education (UK)

DfES - Department for Education and Skills (UK)

EAL - English as an Additional Language

EFA - Exploratory Factor Analysis

EST - Education, Skills, and Training Index

FSM - Free School Meals

GCSE - General Certificate of Secondary Education (UK)

ICT - Information and Communication Technology

ILEA - Inner London Education Authority

KMO - Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy

KS - Kolmogorov-Smirnov test

KW - Kruskal-Wallis test

LSOAs - Lower Super Output Areas

MW - Mann-Whitney test

NEET - Not in Employment, Education, or Training

NELS - National Education Longitudinal Study (USA)

NFER - National Foundation for Educational Research

NUT - National Union of Teachers (UK)

Ofsted - Office for Standards in Education (England)

PA - Principal Axis

PCA - Principal Components Analysis

PE - Physical Education

PGCE - Post-Graduate Certificate in Education (UK)

PISA - Programme for International Student Assessment

QTS - Qualified Teacher Status (UK)

RE - Religious Education

SATs - Standardised Assessment Tasks (UK)

SEN - Special Educational Needs

SLCN - Speech, Language and Communication Needs

VIF - Variance Inflation Factor

Chapter 1: Introduction

The single school case study described in this research was both inspired by, and in the tradition off, the single school studies of Hargreaves (1967), Willis (1977), and Ball (1981). It sought to understand the complex institutional processes and values that create and sustain inequalities in the English education system. The studies cited demonstrated with great clarity that by focusing on a single institution it was possible not only to identify inequality, but also to explore the forces and motivations that allowed it to develop. Like Hargreaves, Willis, and Ball, I was immersed in the school as a participant observer. However, unlike them, I was not a young researcher making my mark on the academic world. Rather, when I embarked on this research I had been a practising teacher for the previous twenty-eight years. Virtually all of those years were spent working in schools in areas of high socio-economic disadvantage. Like most, maybe all, of my colleagues over the years, I believed in equal opportunities. I believed my attitudes were not discriminatory and allowed all of my students to get the best education I could give them. But, one incident, when I was head of ICT in a challenging South London comprehensive, made me question the conventions and the values that I took for granted.

The school had just take the decision to make ICT a core GCSE subject and the new Year 10 cohort consisted of seven ability-grouped sets.

The bottom two sets were extremely challenging because they were dominated by a sizeable minority of oppositional students whose behaviour made effective teaching difficult. Then one day, few weeks before Christmas, my departmental colleague flippantly suggested that we might put all the misbehaving students into a set by themselves. After a few seconds of silence it became apparent that we were both contemplating that perhaps this light-hearted remark might contain an interesting strategy. The bottom two sets were small, exactly forty students in total. We found the registers and divided the students into two groups. There were fourteen students whose behaviour made teaching difficult and twenty-six who were rarely any bother. We had our new sets. As head of department I volunteered to teach the fourteen while my colleague took the rest.

We gave no explanation of our actions to the students. We simply told them we had reorganised the groups and directed them to the appropriate rooms. In my colleague's room the atmosphere was studious. Students listened attentively, diligently carrying out their assignments. Within a week some of the students were reporting how much they were enjoying things. One told me that ICT was her favourite subject, the only lessons she enjoyed. When I said I was pleased she enjoyed ICT she replied:

> *"Sir, I don't particularly like ICT, I just like the lessons. They're my only ones which aren't spoilt by people mucking about the whole time!"*

This statement made a big impact on me. It made me question the whole notion of equality that was supposed to be inherent in our education system. This girl wanted to learn, she wanted to be pro-school, and she wanted to share the values and ethos that the school claimed to espouse. But, because of the way the school was organised, she was put into groups that were often impossible to teach, and in which it was very difficult to learn. And why was she denied the opportunity to learn? It was simply because she was perceived by teachers as less clever than some of the other students. This seemed a grave injustice.

My fourteen students, in contrast, began by thinking that the new arrangements were brilliant. They were with their mates and they were going to have a ball. Knowing what was coming, I had a strategy prepared. I simply handed out sheets explaining the work, quietly went through the tasks to be done (even though I knew no one was listening), and left them to get on (even though I knew none of them would bother). I realised this was ineffective, but my first priority was survival. It was survival because most of these students, for reasons that would later become the topics of my research, had been driven beyond the point of no return in terms of their oppositional attitudes to school. Nevertheless, although it was clear that the curriculum was unstimulating and inappropriate for many of them, I had laid before the students what the school and the national guidelines required. It was an exercise in futility. The school was not serving these students. It was

simply holding them until their release at the end of year eleven (or earlier if they seriously overstepped the mark).

However, the fourteen students gradually cottoned-on to what had been done. Two of them, separately, came to see me after school. Quite independently, both requested to move into the other group. They both also made it clear they did not want their friends to know they had asked to move. I agreed to move them on the condition that if they did not behave they would move back. Both remained in the new class for the rest of the year and beyond. Again, this made me ask serious questions about the way things were done. The organisation of the school had allowed an oppositional culture to flourish in certain locations and these two students had felt little choice but to go along with it. But when in an alternative location (their new ICT class) they dispensed with their oppositional stance. This, perhaps, was the first time I fully understood that the dominant ideology of segregation by ability in the English education system was flawed. And it was also where the seeds of my research journey, of which this study is the latest destination, were set.

I believe there must be many practitioners in English secondary schools who, as I began to do some years ago, question whether the values and ethos of the system they serve so diligently are as fair and equitable as they should be. Just as likely is the idea that there will also be many practitioners out there, equally diligent, who have not yet

started to question the normalised practices and values of the system. The aims of this research were to encourage teachers to question what they do, and to help teachers find answers to those questions. A key element in this, and also something that makes this study different from Hargreaves, Willis, and Ball, was the use of practitioner-generated quantitative data, supported by student-generated quantitative data, to question issues of equality and fairness of in today's schools. This is no criticism of the studies mentioned. Times have changed in terms of our ability to generate, store, and analyse quantitative data. Comprehensive data were collected and examined in a way that would have been almost impossible in the last century. Every student, teacher, form tutor, and pastoral manager, provided an equal amount of data to their colleagues. A strength of this research was that all the perceptions were generated by the practitioners and students themselves. No external person (be it researcher or inspector) was observing and interpreting what they saw. The outcomes of this study were based solely on a statistical analysis of practitioner and student perceptions, increasing its credibility in the eyes of teachers and school managers.

As a historian who has grown into an educational sociologist, I have interpreted the fundamental themes of this study in a historical context, using the historical lens to illuminate a discussion of the present. Although our schools, and school systems, have undergone huge organisational and structural changes over the last century, an important question is whether the class and culturally-based inequalities

within them have also changed. Are they fundamentally the same as they have been since before the Second World War? Does the "*questionable instrument of selection"* (Pring and Walford 1996) of the tripartite era still exist in a different form in today's comprehensive schools? Are practitioners biased towards students who are nearer to their own socio-economic and cultural profile? Are some groups (such as ethnic minorities, students with SEN, EAL students, students in lower ability groups, students from single-parent families) perceived and treated less favourably than others by practitioners? Do practitioners stereotype or discriminate in terms of gender? Do school practices, pedagogical styles, and the curriculum offer, make some groups of students vulnerable to developing oppositional or anti-school attitudes? And finally, do school practices widen the achievement and attitudinal gaps that exist between certain groups of students?

In order to answer these questions this research deliberately avoided using data on attainment. This was for two reasons. Firstly, this study was not about what students had achieved. Rather, it was about how they perceived themselves and how they were perceived by practitioners. Secondly, my experience as a practitioner is that attainment data, in this *"prevailing climate of performativity"* (Turner-Bisset 2007 p193), is increasingly unreliable. Teachers are now routinely given performance-management targets that revolve around percentages of students reaching target levels. Unsurprisingly, then, teachers tend to record students as achieving those levels. Indeed, not

untypically, the school where this research took place had a system for recording attainment that only flagged up instances requiring investigation when students did not reach their target levels. With this in mind, the researcher took the view that attainment data was not reliable enough to use.

Instead, this study interpreted, compared, and contrasted two sets of attitudinal data. Firstly, there were practitioners' perceptions of students' motivation, attitudes to school, behaviour, and social competence. And secondly, there were students' self-reported perceptions of their attitudes and behaviours in school, and their academic self-concept. Students also completed a capital questionnaire which enabled detailed cultural capital and socio-economic capital profiles to be compiled. This study examined which groups of students were negatively or positively perceived by practitioners, and compared these with the differences perceived by students. As a single school study, the findings generated will contribute to some of the key questions in today's equalities debate. Particularly, when present-day school policies and mission statements are characterised by the rhetoric of equal opportunity and fairness, how fair are our schools? How does the content of the rhetoric square with the experiences and perceptions of this generation of students?

In order to do this, between-group differences were examined in the following categories: gender, SEN, ethnicity, EAL, cultural capital, economic capital, parental occupation, FSM, parental residence, ability

groupings, initial academic self-concept groups, and initial attitude to school groups.

The following key questions were addressed:

- What were the between-group differences in students' self-reported attitudes to primary school?
- What were the between-group differences in students' initial self-reported views on their new secondary school and how did these change after a year in school?
- What were the between-group differences in students' initial academic self-concept and how did these change after a year in school?
- What were the between-group differences in practitioners' initial perceptions of students' attitudes to school and practitioners' perceptions at the end of the year?
- How did the perceptions of practitioners differ from the perceptions of students?
- Were certain groups more or less favourably perceived by practitioners compared to other groups?
- Were there any indications of discrimination against certain groups?
- Were there any indications that certain groups might be developing anti-school attitudes or that differential polarization might be taking place?
- Were there any indications that school practices exacerbated achievement or attitudinal gaps between different groups of students?

Chapter 2: the Literature Review

2.1 A Historical Analysis of Inequality in English Education

2.11 Post-Forster to Post-Butler: Inequality as a Structural Norm

The foundation on which this research rests is a historical analysis asserting that the modern English education system was built on principles of class inequality in the nineteenth century, that those inequalities were consolidated in the twentieth century through the emergence of tripartite schooling, and persisted through the comprehensive era into the age of the education market place with its associated social, economic, and political pressures. Such an analysis suggests inequalities are not static, and that the inequalities explored in this study have descended and evolved from those built into modern English education from its roots two centuries, or so, ago. External manifestations of inequality may have changed style with the times. But a key premise of this research is that the class-based nature of inequality remains, and it is maintained by the values and perceptions of people, and the structures those values encourage. Also, given the smokescreens of equalities legislation and legitimisation, current inequalities are more subtle than the unashamedly open class differentials of the nineteenth century.

The 1870 Elementary Education Act is popularly seen as a watershed in

English schooling, heralding the principle of universal education. Simon (1976 p337), in his seminal trilogy on English education, described it as *"the crown of the programme of educational legislation"* in Victorian England. Nevertheless, it is important not to confuse universalism with equality. The architects of the 1870 Act, Earl de Grey, Forster, and Bruce, were variously influenced by Quakerism, Parisian socialism, and Liberal romanticism. And yet they also retained a commitment to religious faith, some connection to Anglicanism, a position among the political and intellectual elite, and, in the case of de Grey, a place amongst the aristocracy. As Baker (2010 p220) pointed out

> *"they certainly never sought a classless or egalitarian society, and none of them was able to overcome a strong sense of social hierarchy."*

The 1870 Act, then, although crucial in improving the lot of poor, was never about equality.

This becomes abundantly clear when looking at the major commissions and legislation in the decades before 1870. These were clearly divided on class lines. The reform of the Great Public Schools, generally the preserve of the upper classes and aristocracy, but increasingly also the wealthy professional and merchant families, was dealt with by the Clarendon Commission from 1861 to 1864. The result was the 1868 Public Schools Act reforming the governance and curriculum of the Great Schools so that they would continue to provide the movers and shakers for Britain's domestic and imperial domains. Indeed, Simon

(1976) noted that one of Clarendon's fears was that England's elite were in danger of being less well-educated than many of the middle classes. Here, then, was confirmation, in its most distilled form, that inequality was deeply woven into the cultural fabric of English Education. Two years before the 1870 Education Act parliament found enough time to deliver an act, similar in size and scope to the 1870 Act, covering just seven elite schools.

Prior to parliament legislating for the poorest sections of society the Taunton Commission (leading to the 1869 Endowed Schools Act) dealt largely with middle class education. In fact, the 1869 Act legally disconnected itself from the elite Great Schools stating that it did not apply

> *"To any school mentioned in section three of the Public Schools Act, 1868, or to the endowment thereof."* (Endowed Schools Act 1869 ch 56, p288).

And, as Hadow (Board of Education 1923 cited in Gillard 2011) said, the 1869 Act not only divided the middle classes into three distinct hierarchical groups, but also suggested that anything more than elementary education was for the middle and upper classes only.

It is interesting to note that the Taunton Commission started work in 1864, three years after the publication of the Newcastle Report whose findings led to the 1870 Elementary Education Act. So, while the major report into the educational needs of the working classes predated both

Clarendon and Taunton, parliament gave priority to the issues of the upper and middle classes. And it is the contention of this research that these priorities, with the notion that class differentiation is embedded in the English cultural soul, not only continued through the twentieth century, but survived and are manifest in today's education system.

Between 1870 and the milestone of the 1944 Education Act the nature and structure of English schooling was much contested. However, the acceptance of class as a natural hierarchical unit of social division continued to underpin the ethos of change. For instance, the Dyke Report (Board of Education 1906) into Higher Elementary Schools openly stated that they were for:

> *"…. the brighter children who have attended previously an ordinary Public Elementary School, and who will, as a class, complete their day school education at the age of 16, and thereupon go out into the world to earn a living in the lower ranks of commerce and industry. For such children there must naturally be a kind of education that is likely to make them efficient members of the class to which they will belong."* (Board of Education 1906, section II)

It was as if there was a natural order, a sense of pre-destination, and part of the school system's role was to support and maintain that order.

Perhaps the most frustrating of the major reports into education is the Hadow Report (Board of Education 1927) because, philosophically, it

came within touching distance of a more progressive way forward. Hadow clearly recognised the diversity of needs in schools, stating:

> *"The provision of curricula….where even in a single school may be found a wide range of types of mind and of conditions of environment, is not a simple matter; and uniform schemes of instruction are out of the question"* (Board of Education 1927 ch4)

And yet Hadow recommended distinct post-11 routes, selective and non-selective, inevitably resulting in the *"uniform schemes of instruction"* he clearly wanted to avoid. Given the social and political pressures of the time it would have been difficult for Hadow to have suggested a comprehensive model that might have embraced the *"wide range"* of children. And so, however fine the rhetoric, the selective and non-selective routes Hadow endorsed could more honestly have been called selected and not-selected. Eleven years later the tripartite model (two tiers of selection and the rest) was crystalised in the Spens Report.

In some ways the 1938 Spens Report (Board of Education 1938) exposed the hypocrisy of those behind the tripartite system. Discussing the presence of *"less academic"* children in grammar schools it stated:

> *"If we regard the school as a social unit with a life that is in a sense a microcosm of the larger life in which pupils will later share, and a training ground for that larger life, then we believe that to restrict that school society rigidly to the intellectual cream of the adolescent population would be to impair its social value."* (Spens 1938 ch IV 24)

And yet, through selection, it *was* proposed to rigidly restrict the intakes of schools making it impossible for them to be a *"microcosm of… larger life"*. What is more, as well as this idle mismatch of idealism and reality, Spens floated the unlikely notion that there would somehow be *"parity of status"* between selective and non-selective schools (Board of Education 1938 xvii). But, before Spens could be acted upon, events in Europe erupted as World War II began.

By 1944, when Britain neared the end of a war which had deeply affected almost every family and community in the land, the proposed reconstruction of the education system did little that would seriously erode the class-bound ethos evident in the legislation of the previous seventy years. The proposals of Spens were ineffectively challenged and the Education Act (1944) actually solidified the structure of existing hierarchical divisions. And while the 1944 Act led to continued class segregation, it also marked an age of pretence with the notion that working class children would be offered an education just as good as that of their middle class contemporaries.

For anyone who experienced English schools in the pre-comprehensive era, the idea that the majority-middle-class grammar school pupils received an education that was no better than in the majority-working-class secondary moderns is as laughable as it is absurd. And while the architects of the tripartite system were grandly suggesting *"parity of esteem"* (Norwood 1943) between grammar, technical, and secondary

modern schools, they continued segregating children by type. In the Norwood Report (Board of Education 1943), on which the 1944 Act was based, the hierarchical classification was just as blunt as that in the 1906 Dyke Report. The report's introduction stated:

> "*In a wise economy of secondary education pupils of a particular type of mind would receive the training best suited for them and that training would lead them to an occupation where their capacities would be suitably used"* (Norwood Report)

Norwood quickly concluded that three *"particular types of mind"* were enough and, following the tripartite path set out by Spens, grandly suggested that:

> *"the secondary Grammar, the secondary Technical, the secondary Modern….should have such parity as amenities and conditions can bestow; parity of esteem in our view cannot be conferred by administrative decree nor by equality of cost per pupil; it can only be won by the school itself."* (Norwood Report Ch. 2)

This was an insidious statement which, with the advantage of hindsight, amounted to a betrayal of those families of working-class men and women who sacrificed life and limb in the war. It certainly left open the possibility of different levels of funding and provision for the different types of schooling. But rather more sinister was the inference that should *"parity of esteem"* not emerge it was the responsibility of non-grammar schools (for not winning it) rather than the fault of those who set up a system where parity had the odds stacked against it from the start. This, then, was in stark contrast to de Grey, Forster, Bruce, and

the nineteenth century reformers who, while encouraging education and emancipation, were clear about the fact that equality that was neither offered nor intended.

Unsurprisingly, in the years after 1944 it quickly became apparent that *"parity of esteem"* was an easy phrase that had little connection with reality. Floud and Halsey (1957), in their south-west Hertfordshire study, showed that children from the poorest families were far less likely than others to enter grammar schools, and that the number of the poorest children in grammar schools was decreasing year-on-year. By 1954, ten years after the Education Act, Floud and Halsey found just 11.5% of skilled and unskilled manual workers' children going to grammar school, compared to 63.6% of children of professionals and managers, and 46.2% of children of clerical workers. Certainly, as far as the middle-classes were concerned, there was no parity of esteem. And, using their capital and influence, they colonised the grammar schools with both their children and their values. Had parity of esteem ever existed outside the imagination of civil servants and government advisors, the middle-classes would have been more than happy to occupy technical and modern schools. But possessing enough agency to understand reality, they voted with their feet.

Further studies (Jackson and Marsden 1962; Lacey 1970) demonstrated that even when working-class students made it to grammar school, they faced more difficulties than their middle-class

peers. They were often encouraged, even forced, to choose between their working-class roots and grammar school cultural norms. Jackson and Marsden (1966) gave an insightful example of this, citing a northern grammar school's rejection of working-class boys' interest in Rugby League. Rugby League, not Soccer, was the sport of the working man in that part of The North. But it was not part of the culture of the educated middle-classes. Faced with working-class students' continued interest in Rugby League, the school held out what it thought was an olive branch, suggesting Rugby Union might be offered. Rugby League was a professional, northern-based, working man's sport; Rugby Union was the amateur, varsity-based, establishment game. The boys were being sent a cultural, class-laced message: we will not embrace your roots, you embrace ours.

Certainly, Jackson and Marsden backed up the findings of Floud and Halsey (1957) suggesting that the route to grammar school for working-class children was more hazardous, and less supported, compared to that of the middle-classes. For instance, none of the eighty-eight working-class grammar school boys in their study was privately tutored for the 11-plus. And many of them arrived at the grammar school by accident as much as by design. In fact Jackson and Marsden (1966 p108) noted a "*downward tendency"* with many working-class children who gained grammar school places opting (often with encouragement from their teachers) for the second tier technical schools, or even secondary moderns.

Jackson and Marsden (1966) also saw that children from the upper stratum of the working-classes, those nearest in culture and aspiration to the middle-class, were the most likely to stay in grammar school until the end of sixth form. Or to put it another way, the grammar schools were unwilling or unable to construct things in a way that would help and encourage those from the poorest socio-economic backgrounds to complete the journey. As the sixties ended Lacey (1970), in *Hightown Grammar,* echoed this disenfranchisement noting that the anti-school subculture dwelt among the working-class rather than the middle-class pupils, and this was reflected in the underachievement of working-class pupils compared to their middle-class fellows.

It is clear, then, that for pupils from poorer families, entry to the top tier of schools was limited, and the chances of success if they did get in were lower compared to more culturally advantaged and economically affluent pupils. But what of those for whom selection removed both privilege and choice, those for whom the grammar school gate remained firmly shut? In the introduction to *Learning to Labour,* Willis (1977 p2) made an interesting comment about class:

> *"The point at which people live, not borrow, their class destiny is when what is given is re-formed, strengthened and applied to new purposes."*

And we can see from the studies of Jackson and Marsden, and Lacey, that working-class pupils who took the route to becoming middle-class

were those that started to live the grammar school values. Those who were unable to do more than borrow those values, such as those who retained their passion for Rugby League, ultimately did not stay the course and returned to live within their working-class communities. However, the studies of secondary modern schools by Hargreaves (1967) and Willis (1977) suggested that a hegemonic contest between the values of the school establishment and the values of other communities was not restricted to grammar schools.

Hargreaves (1967 p68) made it clear that an educational policy based on selection and segregation went much further than simply dividing students at 11-plus. He noted that in a secondary modern school:

> *"The organisation of the school imposes severe limitations on opportunities for interaction between boys from different streams, and is thus a major factor influencing the formation of friendships."*

In other words, pedagogical decisions based on perceived academic ability enforced cultural structures that were divisive. Students in the top stream were encouraged to view themselves as an elite group. Hargreaves described how students in this group were quick to jettison friends that did not, or could not, perform according to the top stream norms which clearly reflected the views and values of the teachers, and which were not unlike the middle-class values espoused in the grammar schools.

The second stream, on the other hand, clearly rejected these values.

Hargreaves (p26) observed that

"'*having fun' represents conformity to the central norm*".

And '*having fun'* included messing about in lessons. Hargreaves described a *"non-academic"* norm where the value of peer prestige outweighed the pain of teachers' punishments, where fighting was intrinsically linked to status, and copying (a taboo in the top stream) was seen as peer-support. Top stream students were viewed as *"teacher's pets"* who outwardly displayed their acceptance of the teachers' norms with tidy uniforms and neat haircuts. Long hair and denim were the fashion in the second stream. And the lowest streams had similar norms to the second stream accompanied by even less academic expectation and higher levels of absenteeism. Because streaming encouraged students with similar norms to share locations, these norms became magnified and dominant. Hargreaves noted the difficulty (and personal risk) of trying to reject the norms of the stream. In other words, the school had set up a structure where polar pro-school and anti-school norms thrived and students' destinies were mapped out by where they were placed.

Ten years after Hargreaves, Willis (1977) produced his *Hammertown* study, also set in a secondary modern. Again, the pro- and anti-school cultures were clearly defined by acceptance or rejection of dominant teacher-led values. However, *"the lads"* counter-culture observed by Willis was characterised by a siege mentality that opposed not only the educational culture, but all cultures outside their particular white

working-class oppositional group. This was particularly illustrated by *"the lads"* aggressive attitude to minority-ethnic groups. Interestingly, Willis also observed that the counter-culture continued from school into the workplace and was, therefore, a reflection of wider society where traditional white working-class values were struggling to survive in an increasingly diverse, economically challenging, society.

2.12 Comprehensives, Control, and the Free Market

However, education in *Hammertown* would shortly be reorganised on comprehensive principles. But given that the studies by Jackson and Marsden, Lacey, Hargreaves, and Willis, highlighted a contest for the imposition of middle-class values within both grammar schools and secondary moderns, there was little reason to suppose this would change with the advent of comprehensive schools. This was partly because of the tribal nature of the British class system. As the comprehensive era dawned, Willis (1977 p1) observed:

> *"Instead of assuming a continuous shallowing line of occupational/class structure we must conceive of radical breaks represented by the interface of cultural forms."*

And as a tribe the middle-classes were evangelical about their cultural norms. Those without the tribe who were prepared to be subject to these norms might be allowed to enter, or be allied to, the tribe. And since the age of universal education, schools were a key location of this

evangelism.

This was reflected in Ball's (1981) *Beachside Comprehensive* study where the retention of grammar school features was summed up in Ball's view of the school's success criteria:

> *"examination passes, the size of the sixth form and the size and type of university entrance"* (p21).

Add to this that the system used to create the initial ability bands relied on the judgement of feeder primary school head-teachers and it was clear that segregation was alive and well. Indeed, Ball demonstrated that class imbalance was little different from that in the grammar school age, with middle-class children over-represented in the top band and working-class children predominant in lower bands. The top band was considered the 'O' level stream and entry into it was limited. Only 5% of pupils starting in band 2 would later be promoted to the top band. Ball observed top band/pro-school and middle band/anti-school identities reinforced by the stereotypical views of teachers who saw an academic top band and a deviant middle band. Interestingly, the lowest band (often viewed as 'remedial' and therefore 'unable') was seen as less troublesome than the middle band (which was seen as 'unwilling').

Nevertheless, it should be noted that political failings were at the heart of continued inequality after the introduction of comprehensive education. The response of the Labour Party was historically ineffectual in the fight for egalitarian schooling. In spite of the concept of

comprehensive provision being adopted, and repeatedly endorsed, by the Labour Party National Executive, successive post-war Labour administrations lacked either the will, the courage, or the competence, to decisively implement an education policy supported by the party's rank and file. Sumner (2010) suggested that Anthony Crossland's decision to merely request, rather than require, local authorities to abolish grammar schools may have been down to Labour's single-figure parliamentary majority. However, she also noted that when Labour were re-elected with a larger majority in the following year the wording was not rectified because some members of the cabinet

> *"felt distinctly ambivalent towards the comprehensive ideal"* (Sumner 2010 p99).

And so, in ironic betrayal, the class structure in English schooling was propped up by the very representatives who supposedly championed poorer people's rights to social equality and mobility.

Chitty (2002) suggested that Labour's post-war drive for educational reform was paralysed by a lack of radicalism. This was particularly apparent under the leadership of both Gaitskell and Wilson who adopted the *"grammar school education for all"* approach (Gaitskell cited in Chitty 2002). But, as we have seen, grammar schools did little to embrace working-class values. Chitty (2002) suggested this lack of radical organisational transformation, combined with a reluctance to instigate a sufficiently different curriculum, was responsible, at least in part, for the fact that:

"The majority of the new comprehensive schools simply attempted to assimilate the two existing curriculum traditions handed down from the grammar and secondary modern schools." (Chitty 2002)

Different labels on the school gates; but effectively, more of the same.

Nevertheless, as the epilogue of *Beachside Comprehensive* demonstrated, there was some impetus towards innovative methods in the form of mixed-ability teaching. Ball (1981) quite rightly described this change as cultural rather than simply structural. And this cultural change was contested both within and outside the school. Although mixed-ability teaching was introduced in a collegiate fashion following a debate and vote among staff, opposition remained in certain departments, particularly Maths and Foreign Languages. The Local Authority also made its opposition clear and provided no extra funds to support the changes. However, with the support of the majority of the staff, a more comprehensive mixed-ability class model was introduced.

Ball's record of this move towards a more comprehensive classroom practice begs two questions. Could it prevail given the apparent political and professional ambivalence? And would it achieve its intended objectives? The answer to the latter was something of a curate's egg. The poor behaviour and anti-school attitude of the middle and lower band students was considerably ameliorated and Ball noted an improvement in relations between pupils from different social backgrounds. However, this should not be confused with a growth in

cross-group friendships. Friendships continued to be allied to social class and, crucially, achievement and academic option choices were generally unaffected by the replacement of banding with mixed ability groups. As Ball (p278) observed:

> *"in terms of….the social distribution of success and failure in particular, mixed-ability produces little change…."*

This should not be surprising given that the curriculum did not greatly alter and teachers' perceptions still guided option choices towards academic 'O' levels or less academic CSEs. In other words, just as in the tripartite era, success in a comprehensive school continued, through teacher judgements and examinations, to be measured against values most suited and accessible to middle-class children.

We can only surmise whether, in the longer term, the changes at *Beachside Comprehensive* would have had more impact. By the time Ball's study rolled off the presses in 1981 a new era in British politics was already under way following the installation of the first Thatcher government in 1979. The changes in the culture of education (and, indeed the rest of society) over Margaret Thatcher's three successive administrations were characterised by marketization, privatisation, and free enterprise. Dale (1989) described how these changes (particularly schools' *"greater economic liberty"* p5) pushed against any egalitarian forces developed within the comprehensive system over the previous twenty years. Using the example of City Technology Colleges, Dale did not see government totally abandoning education to the free market.

However, he saw shrinking, focused, government leading to:

> *"The essential symbiosis of a small strong state establishing, defending and legitimising the market that funds it, and seeking to channel and control the individualism it releases."* Dale (1989 p7)

The creation of a competitive market ethos allowed the dominant and already advantaged groups to increase their dominance and, backed up by state legitimisation, evangelise their values.

The state's legitimising role included the undermining of those opposed to free market principles and controlling local expression through compulsory nationwide blueprints. The abolition of both The Greater London Council and the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) exemplified a political approach that would not tolerate aspirations for a different kind of liberty to the market-led liberty espoused by the Thatcher government. The ILEA was certainly innovative and extremely popular with many Londoners (Mortimore 2008). But it was also committed to egalitarianism, social mobility, and resourcing the most needy in society. It was left-of-centre and opposed to free market principles. But as Riley (1993) pointed out, although many politicians from the right criticised the ILEA for being expensive, the cost of administering education in London actually rose after its abolition. Riley (1993) noted that while government caps on local authority spending may have reduced the within-school costs, it was the poorest areas that lost out because affluent boroughs no longer shared the burden of helping the needy. Kensington saved but Hackney suffered.

In many ways the ILEA was developing the innovations that had begun in the 1970s and 1980s in "*Beachside Comprehensives"* up and down the country. As discussed above, these innovations were contested from their inception. However, the abolition of the ILEA (as part of the1988 Education Reform Act) may be seen, in conjunction with the rest of the Act, as a watershed moment. Social mobility was now marketised. A National Curriculum, detailed and proscriptive, was put into place. It would be measurable and *"entitlement and accountability would be secured"* (Jones 2003 p131). Everyone would be offered the same provision. It would be up to the less advantaged to grasp the nettle and climb the social ladder. As Dale (1989 p8) saw it at the time:

> *"It would encourage individuals to invest in themselves, to maximise the dividends they receive in the labour market for the investment they make in their own education."*

The style of inequality had changed. In the tripartite system inequality was based on class and values, backed up by differentiated provision. The pseudo-equality of provision in the marketplace transferred the responsibility for equality to individuals or families, based on how much they were willing, or able, to invest.

Here, then, is the key question. After three-and-a-half decades of developing marketization and privatization where competition and individuality are embedded into the heart of policy, does inequality continue to be woven into the fabric of the English education system? Is

perceived educational success built on the same class-based lines that can be followed back to 1870 and beyond? Or have the free-market values of individual merit and individual competition changed the nature of inequality in education?

Certainly, if we look at outcomes, both educational and material, the marketization era has failed to eradicate inequalities. Hills et al (Government Equalities Office 2010) pointed out that the income gap between the rich and the poor in the UK grew between 1979 and 1997, and continued to grow under New Labour. Indeed, Hills et al suggested that the gap was growing *"faster here than in many comparable countries"* (p30). And MacInnes et al (2013) confirmed that the economic recession in the years after 2008 hit those on lower incomes first with

> *"a fall in the incomes of the bottom tenth beginning well before the fall in the median"* (MacInnes et al 2013 p14)

Furthermore, in its *Mobility Manifesto* (Sutton Trust 2014) The Sutton Trust made it clear that educational inequality continued to be linked to income and that social mobility remained limited.

A major barrier to social mobility continues to be access. Students from disadvantaged backgrounds remain heavily underrepresented in the most successful state schools and the most prestigious universities (Cribb et al 2013, Jerim 2013). For instance, Cribb et al (2013) found that only 3% of students in England's remaining grammar schools were

claiming FSM, nearly six times less than the national average. And in a report on England's five hundred highest performing comprehensive schools The Sutton Trust (2013) found that they admitted less than half the national average of FSM claimants and, importantly, they contained a lower proportion of FSM students compared to the proportion living in their local areas. Additionally, The Sutton Trust (2009) found that, generally, pupils in schools in economically disadvantaged areas had lower attainment than similar pupils in schools in more affluent areas. What is more, Hutchings et al (2014) observed that the Coalition's massive expansion of the Academies programme has been largely ineffectual in areas of disadvantage. As they pointed out:

> *"When analysed against a range of Government indicators on attainment, a majority of the chains analysed still underperform the mainstream average on attainment for their disadvantaged pupils."* (Hutchings et al 2014 p5)

It appears, then, that the rhetoric of equality in both in New Labour's *Education! Education! Education!* mantra and The Coalition's *Freedom Fairness Responsibility* agenda (Cabinet Office 2010) did not match what actually happened in schools. Indeed as Michael Gove acknowledged:

> *"Those who are born poor are more likely to stay poor and those who inherit privilege are more likely to pass on privilege in England than in any comparable county. For those of us who believe in social justice this stratification and segregation are morally*

indefensible." (Gove 2012)

Sadly, it would appear that the growth of privatisation and marketization begun in 1979, and continued by New Labour and The Coalition, has had little effect on the educational inequality experienced by socio-economically disadvantaged pupils. The underlying trend of educational inequality remains broadly similar to that of a century, or more, ago.

2.2 A discussion on Class

2.21 Introduction

The historical analysis, then, suggested that educational inequalities between social groups in England have existed since the era of universal schooling began in the nineteenth century, and remain with us today. It also suggested that these social groups were generally perceived by legislators, commentators, and researchers, in terms of social class. Brush stroke terms, such as working, middle, or upper class, labelled families based largely on occupation, and the fairly rigid economic capacity that was dictated by occupation. And for several decades after the 1870 Elementary Education Act educational opportunities were differentiated by these broad, occupation-based, categorisations. The Dyke Report into Higher Elementary Schools (Board of Education 1906) made this clear. Dyke discussed educational provision, even what are quaintly termed *"qualities of character"* (sec.

II), in relation to occupations and the requirements of employers. The differing aptitudes, desires, or aspirations of students were not considered, and the curriculum was discussed under occupation-based headings such as *“Manual Work”, “Book Keeping”,* and *“Domestic Courses for Girls”.* Education was based on class, and class was based on occupation.

As the twentieth century progressed the notion of non-occupation based differentiations in educational provision began to emerge. As previously discussed, Hadow (Board of Education 1927) highlighted the need for schools to base provision on the differing needs and attributes of children rather than the needs of local employers. And the blending of a rigid vocationally-led view of educational provision with the idea provision might include elements social mobility based on the individual characteristics of students was reflected in the emergence of the post-war tripartite system. While the overarching structure of the school system remained broadly vocational (manual, technical, professional) there was some room for social mobility. But as the studies of Floud and Halsey (1957) and Jackson and Marsden (1962) demonstrated, working-class social mobility was a conditional offer. It was controlled by middle-class orientated perceptions of ability based on the 11-plus test and head teachers’ reports. Furthermore, as both Jackson and Marsden (1962) and Lacey (1970) observed, success was determined by the acceptance of the dominant, middle-class, grammar school values.

Between the Forster Act of 1870 and the Butler Act of 1944, then, the nature of class had evolved from a categorisation based on occupational status to a categorisation that included values as well as occupation. And with this came the recognition that a certain amount of upward social mobility was both possible and, as pointed out by Goldthorpe (2012), necessary due to the post-war economic demands for larger numbers of technical and professional workers. The next part of the review, then, will look at the changing definitions of class. It will examine the character of class in a twenty-first century context in order to clarify what is meant when using terms as such as ‘disadvantaged’ or ‘working class’.

2.22 The Questions of Class

Certainly, it is true that over recent years people have started to question the validity of previously much-used labels such as middle- or working-class. Indeed, Bennett et al (2009 p211) noted a

> *“reluctance to use class explicitly as a unit of social classification”*.

And if we accept Giddens’s view that such traditional labels have lost their universality, this reluctance is understandable. Indeed, more than a decade ago, Savage (2003 p536) called for:

> *“a much more subtle kind of class analysis, a kind of forensic, detective work, which involves tracing the print of class in areas where it is faintly written”.*

In which case, it must be good practice to follow the example of Biressi

and Nunn (2013) who began their book with their own definition of social class. They cited Harvey (2005 p31) suggesting that social class is *"a shadowy and dubious concept at the best of times."* This section of the literature review will disagree with that view, maintaining that the concept of social class remains tenable. The problem, it will be argued, is an insistence on some sort of universal measure of social class that undermines Savage's call for a '*subtle analysis'*.

At the start of their book on class Pakulski and Waters (1996 p8) stated:

> "*Class has always been desperately difficult to pin down.*"

This sweeping statement is difficult to justify when placed with the historical landscape of Britain. It is a view that over-complicates what is essentially a simple concept. The Oxford English Dictionary's entry on class makes that simplicity clear. It begins with the historical Roman origins:

> *"A group of Roman citizens who could meet a certain minimum wealth qualification; specifically each of the five groups into which property owners were divided for military service during the early Roman monarchy, supposedly introduced by Servius Tullius (578–535 b.c.)."* OED (2010)

And then moves on to a more generic definition:

> *"A set or category of things having some related properties or attributes in common, grouped together, and differentiated from others under a general name or description; a kind, a sort."* OED (2010)

What this suggests is that class was clearly defined in Roman times. And, supported by a theology that endorsed a man's place through the principle of divine right, this clarity persisted through medieval Europe until the Reformation and beyond. Certainly, if we take the Roman standpoint, class has historically been synonymous with the possession, or lack, of socio-economic capital. It is also apparent, as discussed above, that English legislation around schooling in the nineteenth and most of the twentieth centuries was framed around a fairly rigid class-based view of society (roughly aligned to upper, middle, and lower classes and their relative wealth).

Perhaps what Pakulski and Waters should have said is that class has become more difficult to agree upon, particularly as sociologists have developed more complex definitions of class going beyond economics, labour, production, and delineations that might be broadly termed historical materialism. As Roberts (2011 p5) observed

> *"there are no longer any sociologists who stick faithfully to the original ideas of Marx or Weber, or full-strength functionalism, so the prefix 'neo' is often attached…."*

Putnam's ideas of social capital and Bourdieu's legacy of cultural capital are just two of the new manifestations of class that have emerged in the social liberation of post-1960s western society. Social mobility, the communication explosion, improved working conditions, increased leisure capabilities, and an advanced capitalist society fuelled by aspiration and consumption, have all contributed to a visual forest that

makes the old, economically-based, boundaries difficult to see. And, as Sørensen (2000) pointed out, the outcome is:

> *"an enormous literature on the concept of class that consists mostly of debates about which properties should be included in the concept. The result is a variety of class schemes and arguments that centre around which class scheme is the most appropriate for….modern society"* Sørensen (2000 p1523)

The problem, then, is the notion that 'class' can still be applied as a stand-alone all-encompassing concept. The truth is that our world is now too complex for that to be the case. To be fair, Pakulski and Waters (1996) acknowledged this, saying that we need to abandon *"our old comforting theoretical touchstone"* (p28). An effective way to do this is for each researcher to be clear about why they are applying a class analysis to their particular research, before stepping away from the argument (noted by Sørensen) that there may be some universally applicable schema and creating a schema for their particular place and time. A good starting point, then, is to ask, as Wright (2005 p180) does:

> *"If 'class' is the answer, what is the question?"*

For this research the questions were hinged around the possession of capital, particularly, although not exclusively, economic and cultural capital. In terms of economic capital there were two key areas. The first was straightforward. How, in this particular study, would economic capital be measured? And the answer had its roots in the Roman way. As Garnsey (1976) noted, class classification in Ancient Rome was

chronologically and regionally diverse, therefore the ‘Roman’ way in this research meant the general idea of separating people into banded groups based on the amount of capital they possess. But there was also a debate around the ideology of disadvantage. Who was seen as responsible for material poverty and the consequences of material poverty? And how has the political discourse around economic capital become intertwined with values and value-based judgements, including cultural capital? For cultural capital, too, we must ask how it might be measured. But we must also ask how cultural capital holds value within institutions, and particularly schools? Who determines what is valued and what is not valued? And what mechanisms ensure that certain values remain dominant currency?

In order to examine these questions we will first discuss the ideology of disadvantage in England by looking at the prevailing political attitudes to poverty, class, and the selective demonization of certain groups, particularly under New Labour and the Coalition. We will then move on to a discussion on how values assert and maintain their dominance at an institutional level. Particularly, we will examine how cultural capital establishes value and dominates fields within education.

2.23 Responsibility and Demonization

The initiatives of New Labour were described by Gerwitz (2001 p366) as a:

"massive investment in an ambitious programme of re-socialization and re-education, which has as its ultimate aim the eradication of class differences by reconstructing and transforming working-class parents into middle-class ones"

This suggested a New Labour ideology based around changing people rather than their circumstances. However, it is worth noting here the assertion made by Daly (2010) that New Labour's agenda for change lacked fundamental depth. In fact Daly suggested that the Blair years might be seen as a continuation of the traditional family values agenda that characterised the preceding Tory administrations where rhetoric, such as John Major's *"Back to Basics"* initiative, located the cause of disadvantage in family dysfunction. Daly suggested a paradox within New Labour, a tension between a rhetoric heralding change and an inability to depart from established middle-class values. And Daly neatly summed up the New Labour years by observing how:

"the appearance of substantial change and innovation masks deep-seated continuities; some changes of policy instruments and adjustment of existing instruments altered the policy framework but were not sufficiently profound to constitute a change of policy paradigm." Daly (2010 p434)

Levitas (2005) illustrated this continuity when highlighting the notion that the Sure Start programme pointed the finger of blame for trans-generational disadvantage at parents and families rather than their situations. Indeed Levitas noted that *Supporting Families* (Home Office

1999), a key document leading to Sure Start, emphasised parental education as a vital driver of change. And Gillies (2005), discussing child-rearing practices, suggested that New Labour sought

> *"to indoctrinate middle-class values as a method of tackling disadvantage*" (p836).

Edwards and Gillies (2011) suggested that by preaching the mantra of good parenting as the key to addressing the ills of society, the state has placed the responsibility for social problems with the family rather than the environment surrounding the family. Edwards and Gillies demonstrated that government parenting initiatives were a continuation of the hegemonic contest between middle-class and working-class values that took place in grammar and secondary modern schools (see 2.11). The values espoused by government parenting initiatives were in tune with middle-class families who were

> "*able to position themselves as consumers who choose and evaluate expert advice"* [while] "*working-class mothers and fathers experienced professional advice as cutting across their common sense knowledge of their particular child."* Edwards and Gillies (2011 p152)

It is interesting to note that New Labour invoked

> *"parenting contracts and orders, designed to force parents to attend classes and adhere to particular rules"* Edwards and Gillies (2011 p142).

And CANparent, the Coalition's parenting flagship described by David Cameron (cited in Churcher et al 2012) as aiming to *"reach those hard-to-reach mums who probably need it the most"*, had minimal take-up. Indeed, take-up was so poor that costs per parent ended up being ten times higher than expected, with only 2000 parents taking part (Peck 2014). There was, then, a process of demonization and resistance. Successive governments have seen parents as the problem, rather than their situations and lack of resources (poverty, lack of employment, poor housing, poor schooling, overstretched services, etc.). But the poor take-up of initiatives such as CANparent suggested that people will resist the invitation to accept a set of values-laden resources about which they are suspicious.

The outcomes of the Hills et al Report (Government Equalities Office 2010) made it clear that poorer families were right to be suspicious of accepting that their own values were at the root of their poverty. The report's conclusion stated:

> *"Inequalities in earnings and incomes are high in Britain, both compared with other industrialised countries, and compared with thirty years ago"* (Government Equalities Office 2010 p385)

The gap between the haves and the have-nots has increased both over time and in comparison with similarly developed countries. Hills noted that the wealthiest ten percent of families were over one-hundred times better-off that the poorest ten percent. Also, Hills was clear that inequalities impact on social cohesion and

> *"erode the bonds of common citizenship and recognition of human dignity across economic divides"* (p2).

The report was clear the scale of income differentials in the UK:

> *"make it hard….to sustain an argument that what we show is the result of personal choices…. Inequality in turn then acts as a barrier to social mobility."* (p2)

It was beyond the scope of this study to go into the causes of increased UK wealth differentials. Our primary concern was how disadvantaged groups are perceived by those who control policy at a national and local level. But the Hills Report made it abundantly clear that the causes of disadvantage are complex and inextricably linked to the economic structures of society. The solutions to disadvantage, therefore, must also be structural and environmental, rather than personal and familial.

In spite of this, it is clear that under both New Labour and the Coalition much of society in general (as well as politicians in particular) felt a need to demonize certain groups (Biressi and Nunn 2013; Roberts 2011), making them personally responsible for their disadvantage. Tyler (2013) linked this to the political discourse of the Blair government which sought to abandon traditional working/middle/upper-class labels, and the prevailing sociological discourse (including Pakulski and Waters 1997; Giddens 1998; Beck 1992) that the traditional labels of class were no longer tenable. Certainly, many aspects of working-class culture have been appropriated by the middle-classes, and vice versa, making

the radical cultural demarcations described by Willis (1977) more difficult to perceive. Sport is a good example. Liddle (2012) described a:

> *"long class war which has been fought in football over the past 20 years, a war in which every battle has been won, comprehensively, by the middle class without recourse to a penalty shoot-out."*

Liddle listed all-seater stadia, smoking bans, a politically correct sanitization of tribal chants and expressions, and above all a massive escalation in ticket prices as some of the things responsible for remodeling a working man's ritual into middle-class, corporate, entertainment. On the other hand Reay et al (2010) noted that around a quarter of young people from the poorest families now go to university (albeit not the elite Russell Group universities), a figure unthinkable thirty years ago. Other things (for instance car ownership, foreign holidays, and home ownership) once the preserve of the middle and upper-classes are now widely available to sections of society that would previously have been described as working-class.

Giddens (1998), writing at the start of the New Labour era, noted that class attitudes had lost their predictability and that working class areas were very different in character from those of the early and mid-twentieth century. However, Giddens (1998 p104) also observed that exclusion is about

> *"mechanisms that act to detach groups of people from the social mainstream".*

The emergence of the ‘Chav’ (Jones 2012; Tyler 2013) has been a case in point. Tyler (2013 p163), in detailing *“the animation of the chav”* identified the mechanisms as

> *“popular culture, newspaper journalism, television, and the Internet”.*

These mechanisms (largely controlled by educated, well-off, powerful people) demonized, stereotyped, and detached a large body of our society. As Tyler illustrated, the demonization of the chav became a bandwagon. People in all sections of society (the media, news, entertainment, and no doubt in front rooms, public houses, dinner tables, and workplaces) felt that the chav was fair game, a lower form of life.

What made the case of the chav interesting was that many supposedly enlightened people (Tyler noted the case of Baroness Hussein-Ece, a Liberal Democrat peer from a minority-ethnic group) felt such prejudice was quite acceptable. Even Princes William and Harry held a chav-themed party (Toynbee 2011). And Jones (2012 p38) noted that

> *“‘Chavs’ have become more despised than practically any other group of people.”*

Indeed, Jones compared the situation to the nineteenth century attitudes towards the inhabitants of workhouses: the undeserving poor. However, as Biressi and Nunn (2013) pointed out, the popular caricature of the chav was not defined by material poverty. Rather, the chav was characterised by an over-consumption of derided

commodities: clothes, cigarettes, alcohol, fast food etc. (Haywood and Yar 2006). Chavs, then, emerged as a cultural, as much as an economic, underclass.

What the demonization of the chav illustrated is that the boundaries within what may be loosely defined as the social class arena are not necessarily fixed. They are subject to, and influenced by, the fads of politics, the media, and the reactions of the general populace. Hills (Government Equalities Office 2010) made it clear that an economic underclass definitely exists. However, the idea that poverty is the major symptom of deprivation is contestable. Chavs, as Haywood and Yen (2006) demonstrated, were not necessarily impoverished. Deprivation is also about exclusion or, as Ferragina et al (2013) suggested, a lack of participation. The terminology here is important. Exclusion suggests an act of separation that is externally imposed. Lack of participation, on the other hand, suggests a separation from within, a feeling of not belonging, or a lack of empathy with dominant values, as well as material barriers to participation.

Building on the work of Townsend (1979), and using data from the Millennium Cohort Study and Understanding Society (2009), Ferragina et al showed that for the most affluent 70% of the population, participation levels dropped as income dropped. But for the least affluent 30%, nearly one third of the UK population, income made no difference because a floor-level of participation had been reached.

Given that Britain is an affluent European country, the argument that nearly one third of the population is materially unable to participate in society is difficult to sustain. The barrier has social roots. As Ferragina et al (p37) concluded:

> *"Maybe the language of 'us' and 'them' that is echoed in political discourse ….reflects the social reality created by the participation floor. The 'them' – be they the 'haves' or the 'have nots' – are each thought by the other to be different, uncomprehending, irrational or perverse in their behaviour, and certainly not empathetic."*

What has developed, then, from the latter decades of the twentieth century until the present day, is a political discourse that replaces a notion of class based on economic factors such as income and occupation, with segregation on based values and behaviours. However, just as the economic structures that dictated historic working, middle, and upper class groupings, were controlled by those accepting and espousing the dominant values of the capital-rich, the values-based segregations of more recent times have also been maintained and dictated by those with the power to impose a dominant system of values. And, as Horgan (2007) illustrated, those with power include educational professionals in schools.

Horgan (2007), suggested that practitioners see the behaviour and capabilities of parents, rather than material poverty, as exacerbating children's developmental deficits. Indeed, the views of the head-

teachers she cited echoed the political culture of locating problems within individuals rather than with wider structural and environmental inadequacies. Horgan described how head-teachers put poor parenting at the root of a multitude of ills: poor linguistic capability, social and emotional difficulties, and a lack of proactive engagement with support services. Nevertheless, Horgan felt this was often unfair pointing out that:

> *"parents could not win. If they were not in paid employment, teachers saw them as giving a bad example to their children but, if they worked long hours, they were seen as neglecting them"*
>
> Horgan (2007 p50)

Horgan observed a lack of understanding by practitioners about the cultural and material location of poorer families, including a failure to appreciate that adults in poorly paid sectors may have to work anti-social and long hours in order to turn a minimum wage into a worthwhile income. But she also highlighted the failure of practitioners to appreciate the lack of cultural confidence that prevented some families engaging with, and accessing, the services available. In short, there was a failure to understand that there was a link between material disadvantage and cultural disadvantage. Practitioners were judging parents against middle-class values without an appreciation of the cultural and material context of the families concerned.

Hatcher (2012) suggested that more affluent parents were likely to have succeeded in school and would therefore understand, and be able to

pass on, the type of cultural capital valued in an educational context. Certainly, this fits with the case studies in Lareau (2003) where it was cultural confidence that limited Jane McAllister's interaction with her son's school, while Lorrie Marshall had the cultural capacity to initiate dialogue with, and if necessary challenge, the school system. Hatcher (2012 p243) cited aspiration, language acquisition, and what he terms *"instrumental knowledge"* of the education system as crucial capital attributes that families utilise in order to secure educational success for their children. The next section of this review, then, will examine how certain values assert and maintain their dominance, particularly within the school system, and how this dominance defines, and assigns value to, cultural capital. It will also examine what we mean by cultural capital, and theories about how it is, or is not, passed on or acquired.

2.3 Values, Mechanisms, and Cultural Domination

2.31 Field, Habitus, and Symbolic Violence

When looking at issues such as hegemony with the education system, dominant attitudes and values, and the mechanisms used to maintain those values, it is useful to think in terms of field, habitus, and capital, and the relationships between them. As Dumais (2002) pointed out, habitus can only exist (or at least have some sort of meaningful definition) within, and in relation to, a field. Many commentators

(Dumais 2002; Husu 2013; Warde 2004) have based their discussions of field on the work of Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992). They recognised that for Bourdieu field was not a place in a geographical sense. Rather, it was an arena; a marketplace of values where different groups, and their capitals, were relatively placed and traded. Warde (2004) noted that fields are characterised by both the present and their past. Fields (including the relative positions of people, the values of different capitals, and the dominant voices) have been refined, and will continue to be refined, over time. And, as Dumais (2002) observed, according to Bourdieu capital, like habitus, has meaning only in the context of a field.

It is worth noting here that a single geographical location (such as a school) may be home to several fields such as peer-group culture or staff-to-staff relationships. This is because, as Husu (2012 p266) suggested, fields are

> *"structures of differences between individuals, groups and institutions."*

For the aspects of this research examining self-reported academic self-concept and attitudes to school (partially with reference to academic function and ethos) the field was defined as 'the school as a place of learning'. On the other hand, aspects of the research examining social competence in school related to a different field, the school as a wider community. This included some aspects of the 'place of learning' such as relationships with staff, but it also included aspects over which the school had little or no control, such as how students perceived

themselves is relation to other students, and influences and cultural practices brought in from the communities and streets where students lived. Both of these fields fit Warde's (2012 p12) definition of

> *“a relatively autonomous structured domain or space, which has been socially instituted, thus having a definable but contingent history of development”.*

Bourdieu's descriptions of fields characterised them as places of conflict revolving around struggles for supremacy. For instance:

> *“The state of relations of forces in this struggle depends on the autonomy which the field globally disposes of, meaning the degree to which its own norms and sanctions manage to impose themselves on the ensemble of producers of cultural goods and on those who...are the nearest to the occupants of the homologous position in the field of power”* Bourdieu (1992/1996 p215)

However later, when discussing positioning within the field, Bourdieu (1992/1996) described a chess game rather than a collision. The game was discussed in terms of what Bourdieu (p231) termed “*the illusio”,* the sustenance of the interest in the game, and the perceived legitimacy and stakes of the game. Every field, he noted, had “*its specific form of the illusio”.* What sustained the game was a collective belief and participation (what Bourdieu, p228, labelled *“collusion”*) in the game and the value of its *illusio.* Linked to the *illusio* was the idea that fetishism governed the value of practices and actions produced within the field, that value existed only in-as-much as it was recognised and accepted

by agents in the field. Thus, all value is relational and positioned in a social context. Value comes from a person's practices within a field and these practices, Dumais (2002) suggested, are dictated by that person's habitus and possession of appropriate capital.

To apply the concept of field strictly according to Bourdieu's terms can be problematic (Reay 2004; Warde 2004). Certainly, the idea that everyone within the field accepts the *illusio* is contested (Warde 2004). Indeed it could be argued that the degree of acceptance is, in itself, an aspect of habitus. However, when applied flexibly, or even partially, a field

> *"has a coherence which permits its application as a battery of persuasive propositions and procedures at the meso-level of social analysis."* (Warde 2004 p13).

Warde made the valid point that the way key features of a field are identified, or agreed, is not particularly clear. As he said

> *"ultimately it is just what the participants take it to be"* (p14).

In that sense it is somewhat arbitrary and, in pragmatic terms, the researcher must also become the arbitor and tie down the definitions of the field for the purpose of their research. As Dumais (2004) affirmed, for Bourdieu, the school system itself (and even Habermas's *bildungssystem*) may be regarded as a field. However, for this research tighter foci have been chosen. Firstly, the school as a place of learning is examined through the context of the classroom. Secondly, the field encompassing social competence is examined through students'

relationships with staff and peers in both the classroom and the wider school context.

Let us begin with the classroom, the hub of the school as a place of learning. Two types of capital were focused upon in this field. Capital perceived, and in some instances bestowed, by practitioners and capital that sprang from the habitus of the students. The habitus of practitioners and students was, then, critical in defining the values of the perceived capital. However, as Reay (2004) suggested, the term habitus ought to be properly defined, rather than used in a willy-nilly fashion to vaguely indicate identity. Dumais (2002 p46) described it simply as

> *"one's disposition, which influences the actions one takes....generated by one's place in the social structure".*

This disposition, Dumais suggested, is internalised in terms of identity, and externalised in the form of actions. This research collected data drawing out individual dispositions and places in the social structure, but the focus was on how these combined to form group and organisational habituses (Obembe 2013; Horvat and Antonio 1999). Obembe (2013 p361) suggested that

> *"the group habitus informs the individual habitus"*.

Common characteristics, shared social and organisational groups, the likelihood of shared or similar experiences, shared cultural or occupational practices, lead to a group habitus that is both created by, and influential upon, the individual habituses of group members (Obembe 2013 p360/361).

Bourdieu (1992/1996 p57), discussing the artist in Bohemia, talked about the possibility of a *"double or divided habitus"*. He talked of *"proleteroid intellectuals..... the dominated among the dominants"*. The idea of a divided habitus is interesting when applied to teachers – the dominant agents in the classroom. For, dominant as they are, teachers have a double habitus which allows them to dominate, yet acknowledges their subservience to a greater authority. This can lead to conflict. A good example of this was *Kathy's Story* in Scott 2012, where Kathy struggled to reconcile her conformity with accepted norms and her instincts as a caring, listening teacher. She was a literature teacher who felt strongly that whatever students chose to read should be valued and respected. But this was in conflict with the greater authority of the school which allowed the study of only a narrow range of approved texts. Although it pained her, Kathy felt obliged to conform.

The greater authority has two manifestations. Firstly there is the legislative dominant, legal and statutory requirements created in the macrosystem, processed through the exosystem and mesosystem, for implementation by teachers in the classroom microsystem. A teacher's control over things such as classroom management, pedagogy, and curriculum, is limited by the National Curriculum, Ofsted lesson guidance, school policies on seating plans, how to enter the classroom, homework, and a multitude of other things. Secondly there are professional standards, often written down by government agencies or

departments (e.g. DfE 2010 ch2), but also the unwritten, but expected, modes of behaviour dictated by fellow practitioners and shaped by expectations from the general public. These legislative and professional forces together form what might be described as an occupational habitus deployed in the workplace that is distinct, and quite possibly different, from a teacher's personal habitus.

While all teachers are not the same, they are all linked by the collective occupational habitus imposed upon them and empowering them to dominate in the classroom. And, importantly, this habitus is both expected and understood by the students. Nevertheless, as Oliver and Kettley (2010 p739), discussing teacher habitus, suggested:

> *"teachers' histories, prior experiences, moral and political beliefs and social capital potentially shape their proactivity or resignation in engaging with students' expectations and behaviours"*

Of course, these histories and experiences have common elements: attending university, graduating, qualifying as a teacher, and, by virtue of their classroom status, developing a career path. But there will also be differences, particularly in the moral, political, and social aspects of practitioners' lives (Scott 2012). From the student's viewpoint, then, there are two aspects to practitioner habitus: the professional and the personal. The combination of professional and personal habituses reflect what may be termed the school's organisational habitus (Horvat and Antonio 1999 p339; Diamond et al 2004).

In some ways student habitus is less universal and more difficult to pin down than school organisational habitus; it is not governed by an overarching legislative or professional framework. A student's habitus may be governed by several threads of identity and their hierarchy and interaction can be complex. For example, in Horvat and Antonio's (1999) study individual student habitus was influenced by gender, race, and class. Horvat and Antonio (p338) discussed the pressure caused by differences between the habitus of black, female, lower income, students, and the dominant habitus of their school:

> *"they had to learn how to change their spots to cope within a white and wealthy environment, and they paid an often painful psychological toll through being relegated as Others in their school environment***."**

Horvat and Antonio used Bourdieu's notion of symbolic violence to describe this enforced change of being. As Scott (2012 p532) pointed out *"an essential characteristic of symbolic violence is misrecognition".* Symbolic violence pressurises the habitus of all within the field to accept, value, and conform to, the dominant values, capitals, and characteristics within the field. Those who do not, or cannot, conform, to the dominant requirements do not recognise that this apparent normalisation of the dominant values is, in fact, a legitimisation of advantage for those who can conform, and a legitimisation of disadvantage for those who cannot. For certain groups this misrecognition results in unconscious limitations (Scott 2012) of their personal choices, ambitions, and self-worth, that are nurtured within

their habitus. Individuals within these groups may attempt to conform (as in Horvat and Antonio 1999) or resist/oppose (like ‘the lads’ in Willis 1977).

The possession of valued attributes, and an understanding of the dominant values within a field, may be labelled cultural capital. The next part of this review, then, will examine why some children possess more cultural capital than others, how that capital has been acquired, and the nature of cultural capital in an educational context.

2.32 A Discussion on Cultural Capital

It is difficult not to begin an exploration of cultural capital without referring to Bourdieu. Goldthorpe (2007 p3) neatly summed up Bourdieu’s view:

> *“For Bourdieu, one could say, the children of what he calls the “dominant class” are crucially advantaged over the children of subordinate classes in that they enter the educational system already well prepared to succeed within it. In their case, a clear continuity exists between the culture of the home and that of the school.”*

Goldthorpe (2007) noted that Bourdieu’s emphasised how certain groups used their cultural resources to improve their position in the education system. However, Goldthorpe suggested that Bourdieu’s

notion of social reproduction had flaws, particularly in its emphasis on habitus being created within the family. Goldthorpe highlighted Bourdieu's failure to recognise that schools could re-socialise students into a specific set of values. Certainly, this possibility was suggested in the studies of Jackson and Marsden (1966) and Hargreaves (1967) where students from non-middle-class cultural backgrounds could progress provided they were willing to absorb the dominant cultural values of the school. Citing Halsey, Heath, and Ridge (1980) Goldthorpe (2007) suggested that schools were spreading cultural values and capital to those who did not bring them from home, as well as endorsing the values of those students who did.

Devine (2004) discussing how Goldthorpe's interpretation (based on his research in the 1970s) suggested two distinct, but co-existing, actions were taking place. Firstly, there was the conventional Bourdieuan concept of social reproduction where those with considerable capital assets preserved them, protected them, and passed them to their descendants. But there was also what Goldthorpe (2012 p6) described as

> "*the expansion of professional and managerial positions creating 'more room at the top'".*

The middle-class evangelism described in Jackson and Marsden, and Hargreaves, was not simply altruistic. It was a response to the increasing demands of a capitalist system based on year-on-year growth. Goldthorpe saw, therefore, a dualistic process: a preservation of

status by those with privilege and the possibility of acquiring privilege by displaying and accepting the values and capital underpinning that privilege.

The values and capitals discussed by Bourdieu and Goldthorpe may be broadly termed cultural capital. But what exactly is meant by cultural capital? What aspects of cultural capital are recognised and endorsed by school practitioners enabling it to act as currency for students to enter, or remain in, the *'room at the top'*? Because cultural capital is a fluid rating, a river of values flowing through both time and location, the answer is characterised by complexity. For example, Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring,* particularly Nijinsky's controversial choreography (Chua 2007), demonstrated how yesterday's edge becomes today's mainstream. And Rushdie's *Satanic Verses,* art in one society and anathema in another, exposed how cultural values vary from one field to the next (Fowler 2000). Any discussion of cultural capital, then, must examine what currently passes for cultural capital in a particular place and time, and what makes it acceptable currency in the *illusio.*

There has been considerable debate about what constitutes cultural capital (Dumais 2006). As Vryonides (2007 p870) pointed out:

> *"It is often commented that the reason why cultural capital has been so widely operationalised is because Bourdieu's conception of cultural capital is very broad and not easily quantifiable"*

Vryonides described how researchers have variously rated cultural capital using reading, beaux-arts participation, knowledge and understanding of cultural or highbrow activities, and visits to cultural sites or events (art galleries, historic properties, concerts etc). However, Vryonides also noted the view of Lareau and Weininger (2003) who link

> *"aspects of cultural capital as part of the familial resources and practices affecting (intentionally or unintentionally) educational outcomes"* (Vryonides 2007 p871).

There has been, as noted above, debate about whether cultural capital comprises solely capital generated from the home. Should it, as discussed by Sullivan (2007), include academic skills and knowledge acquired from school? Approaches restricting cultural capital to high status, family-sourced, definitions were seen by Lareau and Weininger (2003) as based on the 1980s interpretations of DiMaggio. DiMaggio's concept of cultural capital was criticised by Lareau and Weininger (2003 p569) because

> "*it has unnecessarily narrowed the terrain upon which cultural capital research operates".*

Certainly, if we accept Goldthorpe's dualistic approach, DiMaggio's interpretation was too restricted. It did not encompass students who had accepted and developed values and academic approaches given status in school, regardless of where those behaviours were rooted.

Sullivan (2007) saw DiMaggio's interpretation, and those interpretations influenced by it, as linking cultural capital with status and involvement with visible, elite, intellectually-based activities. However, DiMaggio and Mukhtar (2002 p190) noted that there were difficulties with such beaux-arts indicators because:

> *"the observed patterns are consistent with the possibility that the arts remain central to cultural capital, but that change is occurring in the composition of artistic cultural capital in response to societal trends towards multiculturalism and greater inclusivity."*

In other words, while DiMaggio still saw the beaux-arts as a valid cultural capital indicator, he was no longer sure what they actually were or would become. This is problematic for those wishing to persist with elite, status-driven, interpretations of cultural capital. As DiMaggio and Mukhtar (2002 p170) correctly pointed out:

> *"Bourdieu argued that teachers and other gatekeepers interpreted "cultural capital" as a sign of grace".*

But as Sullivan (2007) suggested, changing tastes and evolving social technologies might affect any consensus on what beaux arts participation actually entails. And, given the expansion of the middle-classes due to Goldthorpe's *'room at the top'*, can we really be sure that traditional beaux-arts are still what the Bourdieu's gatekeepers are looking for? The question is not whether cultural capital is seen as 'a sign of grace'. Rather, it is what currency currently acquires that grace?

Sullivan (2007) put forward a wider conceptualisation of cultural capital that included information processing, and language. These were linked with what Stewart (2010 p74) saw as Bourdieu's legitimate culture where

> *"difference in, for example, accent and demeanour, will be measured in relation to the 'norm'"*.

Stewart described how those given these norms from home sit comfortably within them, whereas others must choose either to learn or reject the norms. Although these norms may be applicable to habitus as well as cultural capital, it is feasible to see information processing, reading, and language, as norms that can also be bought into, or rejected, to differing extents. As Reay (2004 p434) suggested:

> *"habituses are permeable and responsive to what is going on around them. Current circumstances are not just there to be acted upon, but internalized and become yet another layer to add to those from earlier socializations"*

Thus, if a student accepts, rather than rejects, cultural norms (such as reading, participation in the arts-based activities, an interest in scientific, political, or academic subjects) for a number of years in their school life, it is feasible that these norms will enter that student's habitus. And equally, this might result in them acquiring cultural capital valued by the school, even though it has not come from the home.

Nevertheless, if we accept that cultural capital is not entirely dependent on the home, it is likely that cultural capital will be influenced by the

family environment. Participation in the beaux arts, although no longer accepted as an exclusive indicator, may still have a place. But, under the banner of information processing, Sullivan (2007) suggested a wider definition of cultural knowledge that has been explicitly and implicitly valued throughout a child's journey through school. This might encompass curricular knowledge (history, geography, foreign languages, science, literature, music, art, maths, etc) and extra-curricular knowledge (extensions of curricular knowledge, but also current affairs, religion, politics, economics, etc.).

Lareau and Weininger (2003) highlighted the fact the attitudes to reading and reading habits have been used by several researchers (Sullivan 2001; De Graaf, De Graaf, and Kraaykamp 2000) as a cultural capital indicator. This makes sense as it reflects the predominant school culture revolving around reading-based curricula, assessments, and delivery styles. Reading is valued. Even before children can read, nursery classrooms are well-stocked with books. A child's early homework is likely to be reading, with a reading diary shuttled to and from school. School libraries, text books, book fairs, book corners, visiting authors all mark reading as central to the psyche of schools. New technology (interactive whiteboards, virtual learning platforms, the world-wide-wed) still use reading as their dominant means of interaction. Thus a positive attitude to reading not only increases cultural capital by exposure to the contents of books, but also reinforces the development of a pro-school cultural habitus.

This discussion on what makes up cultural capital is inconclusive in absolute terms. Many researchers have discussed, and used, a range of different ingredients that might flavour the cultural capital pie. However, the make-up of the pie is dependent on the attributes that are valued in the field at the time a piece of research is conducted. Thus, an operationalisation of cultural capital cannot pre-define cultural capital. It must, instead, be able to detect what capital is current, and what has value as currency. Certainly, previously discussed themes including beaux-arts participation, reading attitudes and habits, general (cultural) knowledge, participation in creative activities, as well as wider questions around music listening, television watching, and sports participation preferences, will give a researcher some guidance in terms of what to look for. But there is a necessity to accept, as noted by DiMaggio and Mukhtar's (2002), that cultural habits change and, therefore, to utilise research methods (such as exploratory factor analyses) that can pinpoint the significant cultural capital markers in a precise chronological and geographical context.

2.4 Capital Issues and Education

2.41 Economic Capital and the Education Gap

The notion that children from poorer backgrounds get less out of the

education system compared to wealthier counterparts is not new (see section 2.11). For instance, Blanden and Gregg (2004) noted that attainment gap between the rich and the poor increased in the 1960s and 1970s. And what is concerning is the fact that, despite many decades of rhetoric on equalities and narrowing the gap, reports showing the underachievement of poorer students have continued to flow (Goodman and Gregg 2010; Chowdry et al 2009; Ferragina et al 2013; Sutton Trust 2011; Sosu and Ellis 2014; Egan 2012; Jerim 2013; Horgan 2007). Indeed, Hatcher (2012 p239) began his discussion on class and school with the simple statement:

> *"If you want to know how well a child will do at school, ask how much money its parents have."*

Sadly, year after year, government statistics have highlighted a massive gap in attainment between poorer students and others. And what is more, this gap has been defiantly consistent. For example, in 2009/2010 the proportion of FSM students in England achieving five A* to C grade GCSEs including Maths and English was 27.6% less than other students (DfE 2010). In 2012/2013 (although the measure has changed slightly to include any students having received FSM in the previous 6 years) the gap was 26.9%, and in 2011/2012 it was 27.2% (DfE 2014a). Even more troubling is the fact that the DfE's own figures indicated that this gap was largely down to the under-performance of the education system. As will be discussed below, poorer children certainly enter schooling at a lower cognitive and developmental

threshold than others (Goodman and Gregg 2010; Abouey and Geoffard 2013). But tellingly, DfE statistics have shown that the number of disadvantaged students making the expected progress (based on their KS2 data) by the age of sixteen is significantly less than economically better off students. In both 2011/12 and 2012/13 the gap remained consistent; 19% in English and 23% in Maths (DfE 2014a). In other words, not only have poorer students been performing less well in GCSEs compared to others, they have also been less likely to fulfil their potential.

It is only fair to point out that the FSM data on which these DfE statistics were based have some weaknesses as a proxy measure for disadvantage. Hobbs and Vignoles (2010) outlined why FSM figures should be treated with a degree of caution. They particularly highlighted the widespread misconception that FSM figures are based on eligibility, when, in fact, they are based on claimants; eligible non-claimants are not recorded. Hobbs and Vignoles (2010) also noted that eligibility rules are subject to change, and that some families drift in or out of the FSM figures by choice or change of circumstances. Nevertheless, there are two reasons why the attainment gaps discussed above should be considered credible indicators. Firstly, as noted above, recent FSM figures have included anyone who has claimed FSM at any point in the last six years. And secondly, the sheer size of the attainment gaps means they can withstand a fair amount of statistical imperfection. Weighing up the caveats, one thing remains clear: compared to others,

less well-off children have been being dealt a poor hand in terms of the effectiveness of their schooling.

This underachievement has been reflected in other areas, for instance, entry into higher education and, particularly, elite universities. Jerim (2013) highlighted that less that 3% of children from disadvantaged backgrounds in England achieved the baseline academic and cognitive reading skills (based on PISA assessments) to enable them to enter a top-rated university. This was five times less than more advantaged students. And

> *"At least a quarter of the difference in England, the US and Australia is not explained by academic ability"* Jerim (2013 p2).

However, Jerim was unable to suggest what other explanations there might have been. Additionally, Powdthavee and Vignoles (2009) noted that there were also challenges for disadvantaged students when they reached university, where they were more likely than others to drop out.

What the GCSE and Higher Education Statistics illustrate is that the disadvantages poorer students had when starting their interaction with the school system tended to remain with them, and grow, as they progressed through the system. A lack of effective early intervention has been a key issue. As Goodman and Gregg (2010 p34) noted:

> *"raising attainment among poor children before they get to secondary school is almost certainly the most effective time for intervention"*

This was reiterated by Egan (2012) who, looking at the situation in Wales, noted the view of Wilson (2011) that lack of early intervention to tackle the structural sources of disadvantage was the key cause of the widening attainment gap between poorer students and others in the secondary years.

Although the focus of this research is on secondary school children, it will be useful to discuss some aspects of early educational disadvantage associated with low economic status in order to contextualise children's later experiences in school. The impact of low income on children's health was discussed by Goodman and Gregg (2010) and Horgan (2007) as a factor that could affect their early schooling, particularly given the detrimental outcomes associated with poor attendance. However a detailed study by Abouey and Geoffard (2013) suggested that, in contrast with previous studies, there were few infant health differentials associated with income during the first year of a baby's life. Nevertheless, from the age of two children from poorer backgrounds became less healthy than others and this difference remained throughout childhood. In many respects Abouey and Geoffard's study raised more questions than answers. It suggested, for example, that

> *"health care services, housing conditions, nutrition, and clothing are probably not important mechanisms"*

in causing poorer children to be less healthy than others (p727). This, then, raises the possibility that cultural, rather than material, factors may come in to play.

Certainly, Goodman and Gregg (2010) found children from poorer backgrounds had cognitive, developmental, and health deficits compared to others at the age of three, and these had widened by the age of five. Routines in the home (irregular mealtimes, bedtimes), lower levels of breastfeeding, a higher post-natal depression rates, and irregular reading, were identified as having a role in creating these deficits. Hartas (2011) pointed out that reading should not be confused with learning activities. There was little difference between poorer mothers and others in the frequency of maternally directed learning activities. But poorer mothers, particularly those with a low level of educational qualifications, were significantly less likely than others to engage in reading activities with their children. However, Hartas noted that while this may have had an impact on a child's capacity for starting school, it did not seem to have contributed greatly to a child's literacy deficit. It was the quality of the interactions, the language used between parent and child, rather than the quantity, that made a difference. More regular reading, therefore, would make little impact if its quality and character remained the same. The findings of Sabates and Duckworth (2009) are interesting to consider here. They suggested that the quality of maternal initial schooling was linked with a child's academic development. Maternal adult education, however, had little impact on a

child's academic performance. In other words, for the child the die is cast in its mother's childhood, adolescence, and early adulthood.

Hoff (2003) considered the linguistic environment to be the governing factor in a deficit in a child's linguistic capacity to learn. She discussed the link between economic disadvantage and the under-development of *"productive vocabulary*" (p1373), although she found that

> *"mothers showed no differences in their childrearing beliefs or goals"* (p1373)

Hoff (2003) suggested that young children from less well-off backgrounds have less developed vocabularies because of the limited quality of maternal language, particularly its lack of

> *"quantity, lexical richness, and sentence complexity"* (p1373).

Hoff, then, suggested that economically worse-off mothers were least able to equip their toddlers with language skills that would enable them to navigate the education system. This theme, of course, is not new. Bernstein (1964 p67) discussing elaborate and restricted codes, noted how language mapped out a child's identity:

> *"The code the child brings to the school symbolizes his social identity. It relates him to his kin and to his local social relations. The code orients the child progressively to a pattern of relationships which constitute for the child his psychological reality and this reality is reinforced every time he speaks."*

And certainly, this might affect a child's habitus and perceived status with the field of school (see above, Horvat and Antonio 1999).

Two studies commissioned by The Joseph Rowntree Foundation (Horgan 2007; Sutton et al 2007) are useful in discussing the differences in attitudes to school between poorer and more affluent students. Horgan, talking to younger children using questions based around house size, found that KS1 children did not have a developed concept of poverty and certainly did not associate it with different types of schooling. However children aged nine were developing an awareness of social and material difference and by eleven children in big houses were identified with boarding or *"fancy"* schools, while local schools were described as *"ordinary"* (Horgan 2007 p17). Interestingly, Horgan also found that at nine some boys from poorer backgrounds were showing signs of school disengagement.

It is worth noting that Sutton et al (2007) suggested that older children tended not to label themselves as affluent or poor, but identified themselves as normal, playing down the extremities of their material conditions. Nevertheless, Sutton et al found social antagonism between groups with stereotypical euphemisms (e.g. chav, posh, swot) used to express resentment or disrespect towards other income-based groups. The secondary school children in Sutton et al's study (some privately educated, some from very poor backgrounds) defined poverty in relation to their perceived normality. For poor family-income children, poverty meant street begging, being a 'smack-head', or third-world hunger; for the wealthier children it meant living on a council estate.

What came out of Sutton et al's study was both the rise fake norms and a clear cultural disconnection, suspicion, and sometimes antagonism, between the well-off and less well-off.

Sutton et al's study was interesting because it offered an insight into how children from relatively affluent middle-class backgrounds (youngsters who might well grow up to be teachers or policy makers) viewed poorer families and their children. Sutton et al noted two themes, sympathy and blame, held in various proportions by better-off children when discussing disadvantaged families. Sympathy (although one could not go as far as to say empathy) for the barriers and privations that they faced, and blame attributed to families did not address their situations through better parenting, or getting extra jobs.

Although all of the students in Sutton et al's study recognised that school was important, their reported attitudes suggested that their experiences were very different. Well-off children were concerned with success. There was a synergy between their acceptance of the requirement to achieve and the goals and values of the school. For poorer children, in contrast, there was a sense of survival, a precarious navigation through the controlling mechanisms of rules and sanctions which were regarded as a challenge. There was a lack of shared values and no sense of partnership. Indeed, Sutton et al's study suggested that there was more than an attainment gap between lower-income and more affluent students. There were social and cultural chasms.

Certainly, there was a feeling running through the literature that although were clear associations between material poverty and educational attainment and attitudes, a direct causal link between them has not been convincingly established. However, Horgan (2007) noted some aspects of financial challenge for poorer families with the costs of schooling (uniform, transport, sports kit, school trips, clubs, books, etc.). She estimated the:

> *"total spending per year for primary schoolchildren averaged £799, compared to £968 for secondary schoolchildren."* (p35)

For low-income families, then, particularly those with several children, the costs of education may be challenging. Nevertheless, Wilson (2011 p76), reviewing the causes of the widening attainment gap in the early secondary school years, was adamant that

> *"social and personal factors provide the strongest evidence of an influence on the drop in attainment"***.**

This was further discussed by Egan (2012) who suggested that the differences between primary and secondary schools in student-teacher relationships and classroom management were, therefore, key factors. In primary school students have one teacher for most of the school day. Over time that the teacher understands, and learns how to support, the personal and social needs of students. The teacher is a key worker as well as a pedagogical resource.

The interpretations of Wilson (2011), Sabates and Duckworth (2009), Hartas (2011), Hoff (2003), and Abouey and Geoffard (2013) all suggested that it was cultural and/or lifestyle factors, rather than poverty itself, that led to the cognitive, developmental, and health deficits apparent when children start formal schooling. And, as the studies of Horgan (2007) and Sutton et al (2007) have shown, by the time children reach secondary school a sense of cultural and social difference is embedded within the identity of children from poorer backgrounds.

2.43 Capital, Class, and Teachers' Attitudes and Expectations

This section of the review will look at whether teachers' attitudes and expectations of students are influenced by the economic or cultural capitals they do, or do not, possess. It will particularly look at whether teacher stereotyping, deficit models, and preconceptions, favour or disadvantage certain students. Green (2006 p26) described a *"debilitating deficit orientation"* resulting from schools or practitioners focussing on perceived cultural, economic, social, and academic weaknesses, rather than student's strengths and potential. As Coldron et al (2010) illustrated, at institutional level English schools are already segregated on the basis of cultural and economic differences. They suggested schools willingly discriminate in their admissions because, with results-based accountability systems, their chances of institutional-level success are improved by students with

"social characteristics or prior attainment, more likely to perform well in these tests" (p22/23).

Furthermore, Coldron et al observed pressures from the education marketplace as parents, especially middle-class parents, made choices based on the character of the pupils attending a school as well as educational quality.

Clearly, in Coldron et al's analysis, students experienced segregation through school allocation. But how are students perceived as having lower socio-economic status than others viewed within school? Dunne and Gazeley (2008), researching nine secondary schools, twenty-two teachers, and 327 children, suggested that:

"The lower attainment of working-class pupils tended to be normalised and did not seem to raise any particular cause for concern." (p 456)

They noted that 70% of students identified as underachieving were also identified by teachers as working-class. And whereas teachers normalised low attainment for working-class pupils, low attainment represented failure for students identified as middle-class. Dunne and Gazely recorded how middle-class students not obtaining university places were seen by teachers as unsuccessful. But university entrance was not a teacher expectation for working-class pupils. Dunne and Gazeley (2008) and Gazeley and Dunne (2005) made some interesting points about teachers' attitudes to class, highlighting how teachers were

often uncomfortable discussing class differences while being clearly aware of a class hierarchy and:

> *"Despite the absence of explicit reference to social class in their discussions of pupils' underachievement, teachers used it extensively but implicitly"* Dunne and Gazeley (2008 p 458)

Teachers, then, while embarrassed to employ class-based labels, permeated their comments with class-based differences in values and behaviours.

These differences clearly came through when teachers discussed both underachievement and achievement. In Gazeley and Dunne (2005) teachers pinpointed problematic home situations as a key cause of underachievement. A lack of family support, single parenthood, ineffective discipline, and problematic siblings were mentioned. However, seventeen of the nineteen instances of problematic home-based issues were attributed to working-class students. In contrast, the majority of positive home-based qualities (music lessons, extra-curricular activities, support with school work) were associated with middle-class students. Teachers positively stereotyped middle-class students and families as respecting education and having pro-school values. Clearly, teachers in Gazeley and Dunne's study identified class in terms of values, habits, and behaviours, rather than in economic terms. Certainly, there was evidence that a deficit model underpinned the views of many practitioners. Home life, poor behaviour, or lack of motivation, were identified as causes of underachievement while

> *"deficiencies of pupils were rarely linked by teachers to issues of curriculum access or to their own pedagogy"* Dunne and Gazeley (2008 p 456).

The teachers' reluctance to explicitly label social class when discussing students was reflected in the political discourse of the time. Reay (2006) described class-labels as "*an absent presence"* in New Labour's education rhetoric, permanently there between the lines. Class, Reay suggested, was not mentioned for a very good reason. Because once policy-makers, politicians, managers, and teachers acknowledge the fact that low socio-economic status pupils are less likely than others to achieve their potential, they will need to confront the *bildungssytem's* bias, summed up by Reay as:

> *" an education system in which working class education is made to serve middle-class interests."* Reay (2006 p294)

A biased *bildungssytem* dominated by middle-class values, middle-class curricula, and a middle-class habitus. And just as individual practitioners in Dunne and Gazeley (2008) attributed lack of success to home and student attitudinal factors rather than their own pedagogy, so policy makers and politicians attributed working-class underachievement to the failure of working-class families to access a middle-class education, rather than society's failure to provide an education allowing them to succeed.

It is worth noting, here, the findings of Dumais (2006) regarding cultural capital and teachers' assessment of language, maths, and arts skills. Although carried out with children aged five to seven, this large scale quantitative study showed how differing amounts of cultural capital had little effect on teachers' assessments of middle and higher socio-economic background children. However, for children from lower socio-economic backgrounds, the possession of cultural capital was associated with more positive teacher perceptions. Dumais suggested this may have been because cultural capital was less prevalent among lower socio-economic families and its presence, therefore, stood out. But in other social groups it was expected. So, just as Dunne and Gazeley (2008) saw teachers normalising low attainment in working-class pupils, Dumais suggested low cultural capital levels were normalised in poorer background pupils, while higher cultural capital was normalised for better-off pupils. Poorer pupils stood out only when breaking the mould. However, it is interesting to note that in Dumais's study it was the presence of cultural capital that was noticed, unlike the deficit model observed by Gazeley and Dunne.

The presence of a deficit model is important as it may be considered a step towards

> *"a deficit stance that pathologizes the language and culture of poor students*" Dudley-Marling and Lucas (2009 p362).

Writers such as Reay and Savage noted that the foundation-stone of the deficit model, and indeed the pathologizing of poorer sections of

society, is a confident assumption among the privileged that their own middle-class values are, and should be, the yardstick of merit. And there is no reason to suppose that teachers, comfortably ensconced within the middle-class, do not share this assumption. And as Savage (2003 p536, cited in Reay et al 2007 p1042) suggested*:*

> *"the unacknowledged normality of the middle-class needs to be carefully unpicked and exposed".*

In their critical review of Hart and Risley's (1995) influential study of language use and acquisition in the USA, Dudley-Marling and Lucas (2009) highlighted

> *"an ethnocentric bias that takes for granted the normative status of the linguistic and cultural practices of the middle- and upper-income families in their sample"* (p364)

Dudley-Marling and Lucas's review exposed assumptions of middle-class normality, and a lack of recognition of cultural individuality among poorer communities. Particularly interesting was the point that although Hart and Risley's study involved only forty-two children in Kansas City, it has been widely generalised to cover all poor communities and is highly influential among American educationalists and policy makers. Dudley-Marling and Lucas saw Hart and Risley's study as part of a wider educational stance that suggested a unified, identifiable

> *"culture of poverty…based on a flawed theory of culture that ignores the rich language and experience possessed by children from all cultural and linguistic groups."* (p364)

Dudley-Marling and Lucas saw a double stereotype: a stereotyped correctness of virtuous values and a stereotyped monocultural depiction of poor communities.

But could this happen in British schools? Colley Lane Primary School in Cradley Heath is an interesting case. The BBC (2013) reported how the school had banned the use of the local 'Black Country' accent in the classroom. In spite of the fact that many families were proud of their accent, seeing it as part of their identity, the school informed parents of a 'zero tolerance' of its use in the classroom. The head-teacher, John White, justified the ban saying

> *"There are times when we need to use formal language….when we are presenting, writing a letter, those sorts of things."*

While it is, perhaps, understandable that children need to learn the difference between formal and informal language, a ban on the linguistic conventions of a local community sent out a powerful message: 'Your localness is both unvalued and expendable. We are in charge of the classroom – be like us!'

Looking at this case in the light of the Bernstein et al's (1966) analysis of two cultures (instrumental and expressive) in schools, we see that practitioner values have reinforced their dominance over the

instrumental culture (what is to be taught) by asserting their dominance over the expressive culture (the values and norms). *Shaun's Story* (Reay 2002) was a personal, but telling, account of the conflicts that can occur when the instrumental and expressive cultures do not match the needs and values of local communities. On an individual level the heart of the story was the fact that

> *"Shaun's experience generates a habitus divided against itself"* (p223).

But what is important is why this was the case. Why did most of Shaun's peers opt for a habitus that was not *'divided against itself'* (p223), but was also not comfortable with either the instrumental or expressive cultures of the school? A deficit model ignores what Reay (2002 p231) saw as the nub of the conflict, that:

> *"this is not an issue of school effectiveness and staff performance but a matter of class and race; of social structures and material resources"*

2.5 Attitudes and Engagement

2.51 Students' Attitudes to School

An NFER report for the Children's Commissioner's Office (Chamberlain et al 2011) supported the observations of Reay (2006) and Tyler (2013 see section 2.2) that social class and cultural differences are being removed from the political agenda. The report made interesting

observations about students' attitudes to education and school but regrettably, given the amount of data collected, made no differentiated observations in terms of economic or cultural capitals, ethnic background, or gender. Young people were treated as a homogenous group, with the only entry criterion being attendance at a state-funded school. And yet, data on ethnicity, gender, and FSM status were available.

Chamberlain et al's report highlighted points that merited a deeper analysis. For instance, 60% of responses suggested school councils were ineffective in hearing children's views, 40% did not report enjoying lessons, and most children felt that they had little control over secondary school choice. Given Reay's (2002) example of Shaun, a boy from a low-income family funnelled into a failing school he did not wish to attend, it would have been interesting to see how his experience was, or was not, reflected in different social groups. We can only speculate on the characteristics of the children making the points cited above. However, to be fair to Chamberlain et al, other research (Gorard and See 2011) on students' enjoyment of their school experience found little between-group variation for social class, FSM status, ethnicity, prior attainment, or school type and location. Indeed, Gorard and See, studying 3000 KS4 students, suggested gender was the only variable showing notable differences (with girls more likely to enjoy school than boys).

Gorard and See's observation that student-perceived enjoyment of school was not linked to prior attainment is reflected in Lumby (2011) who disputed the notion implied in much government policy (Lumby cites DfES 2003a and DfES 2003b) that enjoyment is necessarily linked to improved learning. Both Lumby (2011) and Gorard and See (2011) highlighted a key finding: the predominant factor in school enjoyment (in students' eyes) was having positive social relationships. Peer friendships, good relationships with teachers, and opportunities to interact with others were twice as likely to be cited by students as reasons for enjoying school compared to enjoyment from lessons or learning related activities (Lumby 2011). In fact, Lumby observed, even students with negative views of school still highlighted the importance of interacting with friends and positive relationships with teachers. This suggests, then, that surveys focusing on school enjoyment could mask other between-group differences such as inequalities in attainment, school organisation (e.g. ability grouping), the relevance of the curriculum, and empathy with school values.

A good example of this masking was in *Shaun's Story* (Reay 2002). Shaun reconciled his disappointment at being allocated a failing school by highlighting the fact that he would be there with friends and family members. Of course, *Shaun's Story* was a case study and, therefore, its generalizability is limited. Nevertheless, it gave an interesting view of one boy and his low socio-economic peers challenging the idea of universalistic attitudes to school. Reay used Shaun's unusualness to

demonstrate the usual. In particularly, Reay described the cultural gap between Shaun's peer group and school values noting that

> *"reading books and spending lots of time on homework, were pathologised among the male peer group*".

Even Shaun himself, who was trying to conform to school values,

> *"shares with many of his peers a sense that the knowledge being offered in school is not really relevant to boys like him"* (p228).

Shaun's peers found alternative status markers (see Kelly 2009) including misbehaviour, the capacity to fight, and personal appearance. And at the root of the cultural chasm depicted by Reay were two distinct, but interlinked, factors: masculinity and social class.

However, a quantitative study by Croll et al (2008) suggested differences in attitude to school based on gender and social class may not be as large as qualitative studies such as *Shaun's Story* imply. Croll et al used questionnaire data from 845 first year secondary school students. Over 90% of them believed in the importance of doing well at school and claimed to have many friendships. Gender and social class differences were minimal in both cases. Also, there were no significant gender or social class differences for enjoyment of school, views of teachers' supportiveness, or the prevalence of bullying. But, when asked to comment on the statement

> "*School does not have much to offer me"*

nearly half (48.1%) of students with parents in manual occupations agreed or were not sure, compared to 36.3% for those with non-

manually employed parents. And 70.5% from the non-manual category intended to pursue post-16 education, compared to 55.3% for those from manual families. Nevertheless, although significant, these differences involved only a minority of manual category children and Croll et al (p397) suggested that, overall, the rather small differences they found could only

> *"partially reconcile the marked difference between survey evidence and the results of small-scale qualitative studies."*

However, perhaps the differences between quantitative studies such as Croll et al and qualitative studies such as *Shaun's Story* are not as large as they appear. It worth noting that the significant differences in Croll et al concerned vocational values rather than personal or social values and attitudes to school. Nearly all students believed school was important to their future. Yet a significant minority from lower socio-economic backgrounds felt they were not offered what they needed, suggesting a curriculum out-of-step with their perceptions of a useful education. And clearly, compared to others, a higher proportion of lower socio-economic background students indicated they would vote with their feet by leaving school at sixteen. Certainly, Croll et al's significant minority would be more visible in a school (of which there are many in the UK) where most students come from lower socio-economic backgrounds. In such contexts, the depictions of small-scale qualitative studies may be nearer to reality than large-scale quantitative surveys.

However, studies such as Croll et al (2008) are important because they correct a misconception, sometimes suggested through vivid case studies such as Reay (2002) or Lareau (2003), that there are still *"radical breaks"* (Willis 1977 p1) between socio-economic groups. The fact that the majority of students from all backgrounds share similar perceptions and values may be lost. And it is interesting that, in spite of the similarities in students' self-reported attitudes, differences are apparent in the perceptions of practitioners (see section 2.32), examination results, and attainment.

2.52 The Disengaged Minority

What is clear, from both quantitative and qualitative studies, is that there is a disengaged minority within our school system. Given that it is likely that these students will include those leaving full-time education or training and not in employment at post-16 (NEETS) it is worth noting that

> *"early leavers are disproportionately male and from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds"* (Croll et al 2008 p383)

And the Audit Commission (2010 p14) noted

> *"In fieldwork areas, 25 per cent of young people were NEET at some point over a two-year period".*

Of these, 43% were considered long-term NEET (i.e.over six months).

The Audit Commission also noted that since the 1980s the number of NEETS has been relatively consistent. Furthermore, Sodha and Gugliemi (2009), in an interim report for Demos (self-described as a cross-party think tank, but whose co-founder Geoff Mulligan was closely associated with New Labour), estimated that in 2007 nearly 10% of 16-18 year olds were NEET, observing that:

> *"the very visible problem of disengagement at post-16 is only the tip of the ice-berg. It is symptomatic of some of the deeper problems that run through our education system."* Sodha and Gugliemi (2009 p7)

Indeed, the final report (Sodha and Margo 2010 p37) suggested one in seven of 16-18 year olds were NEETS by 2009, implying that a *"significant minority"* of students were out-of-tune with the school system. The final report highlighted attitudes to school, truancy/attendance, and poor behaviour, as key symptoms of disengagement. Interestingly this report, produced for an organisation claiming the middle ground of the political spectrum, put forward a largely deficit model.

The recommendations in Sodha and Margo specifically emphasised parenting programmes and support, early years intervention programmes, and extending prevention programmes. They advocated intensive home visiting, nursing partnerships, baby massage, and even the importance of front pack baby carriers. The report considered a raft of intervention and prevention initiatives, from birth to post-16, all aimed

at improving the way families and individuals performed within the current system. It promoted a fundamentally deficit model because it located disengagement and educational failure squarely within families and young people themselves. Its solutions revolved around resources aimed at changing the attitudes and skills of those families and young people. While this approach may have a part to play, it also smacks of hubris. It tinkers around the edges with bolt-on initiatives without seriously questioning the core content of the curriculum, pedagogical strategies, or the values within our schools.

Yet, Sodha and Margo (2010) contained pointers within its own evidence that such issues should be considered. Of the seventy-five disengaged students surveyed more than 50% found their lessons pointless and a third suggested they were bored in lessons. Unsurprisingly, then, they said lessons were often undermined by poor behaviour and many reported poor relationships with teachers. But they also made it clear what sort of lessons they wanted: energetic, active, and with content for which they could be positively rewarded. The report also noted how the domination of testing and exams led many disengaged students to internalise a low academic self-concept, something particularly applicable to white boys from poorer backgrounds. Yet, the report contained no radical recommendations for curriculum change (such as an emphasis on vocational, practical, options), or a move from traditional pedagogical approaches to, for example, less formal, collaborative, and not necessarily classroom-

based, learning.

An alternative perspective appeared in a more recent NFER report (Kettlewell et al 2012). Although still focused on interventionist approaches, it recognised that tackling disengagement should focus on changing school practice and the curriculum offer rather than focusing on parental and student deficiencies. Like Sodha and Margo (2010), Kettlewell et al recognised that disengaged students feel lessons are suited to neither their preferred ways of working nor their desire to prepare for workplace. But importantly, Kettlewell et al recognised that the majority of these students were what might be broadly termed 'normal' mainstream-school children, citing findings of the Audit Commission (2010) that:

> *"Over three-fifths of NEET young people fall into the 'open to learning' or 'undecided' categories yet, due to their lack of multiple complex barriers to engagement, these young people could be prevented from becoming NEET"* (Kettlewell et al 2012 p3)

Given this situation it is fair to suggest that under-achievement, behaviour issues, and the lack of commitment perceived in many of these students (Kettlewell et al) is due to inappropriate, unstimulating, educational provision rather than deficits in students and their upbringings. Interestingly, the students were well aware of their behaviour and their self-reported assessment broadly matched the perceptions of their teachers (Kettlewell et al). Their behaviour was a response to poor lessons and a results-driven system in which they

were unable, or unmotivated, to succeed. Yet, they generally reported enjoying the social side of school, being

> *"almost unanimous that this was a positive aspect of coming to school"* (p16).

Considering that the Audit Commission (2010) had shown that the long-term costs of not tackling disengagement and the resultant number of NEETs could run into tens of billions of pounds, one would expect something more than interventionist solutions. However, the studies by Sodha and Margo (2010) and Kettlewell et al (2010) indicated that hegemonic systems within schools have little desire to change the established values associated with different types of learning or curriculum. Certainly, the familial-deficiency focus in Sodha and Margo was about cajoling people to accept a certain set of values that defined success in traditional academic terms such as literacy, numeracy, certificates, and exams. And half of the schools in Kettlewell et al providing curriculum alternatives offered them exclusively to students they considered unable to access traditional GCSEs. Kettlewell et al noted ambivalent staff attitudes to alternative curricular and, in some cases, student stigmatisation of peers involved in such programmes. This suggested, then, a dominant discourse in schools preserving and inculcating the value of academic-based routes, while painting vocational routes as second best. This is in stark contrast to Germany where

> *"Vocational education and training is deeply embedded and widely*

respected in German society." Hoeckel and Schwartz (2010 p5). In Germany, non-academic routes are not seen as paths for the unsuccessful. They are the cornerstone of a thriving industrial economy.

2.6 Implications for Specific Groups: Gender, Ethnicity, SEN, Children from Single Parent families

Although, as suggested above, student self-reported attitudes indicated that most students share similar attitudes to school (Gorard and See 2011; Chamberlain et al 2011), it is worth looking at the experiences of some specific groups. Issues of socio-economic and cultural capitals have already been discussed, so this section will focus on gender, SEN status, and ethnicity.

Gender

As Bugler et al (2013) pointed out, it has long been the case the girls' attainment in school outstrips that of boys, and government figures confirm that this trend continues (DfE 2014a). However, although this study was not concerned with achievement, perceived attitudinal gender differences may well be used by others whose aim is to explain and understand attainment differences.

Certainly, discussions on gender tend to focus on difference. For instance, Martin (2009) suggested that alongside the attainment gap in Australia there was also an attitudinal gap, with boys less engaged than girls. At the extreme end this has been evident in the UK as illustrated by the reports on NEETS discussed above and government statistics (DfE 2013) showing boys as three times more likely than girls to experience school exclusion. However, recent research (Chedzoy and Burden 2007; Bugler et al 2013) has suggested that, away from the extremes, gender disparities in student self-reported engagement are not large. Studying over two-hundred year 8 students, Chezoy and Burden found broadly similar views in both genders for students' enjoyment of school and the curriculum subjects they liked. Both genders also felt good teaching facilitated successful academic outcomes while boring lessons resulted in poor learning.

Certainly, Chedzoy and Burden (2007) observed gender differences in attitudes to academic success and failure. While boys associated success with the character of the topic, emphasising practicality and successfully completing things, girls focused on the understanding of learning, and the quality of learning experiences. Failure, however, tended to be externalised by girls (blaming inappropriately levelled tasks, a distaste for subjects, or boring lessons). But boys focused on personal deficits (poor behaviours, negative attitudes, or character traits). And this was reflected in Chedzoy and Burden's observation that boys were more likely than girls to locate the impetus for improvement

in their own work and attitude. Chedzoy and Burden demonstrated that while there may be gender differences in attitudes to learning, it is not necessarily the case that one gender is more positive than the other.

However, a rather larger study by Bugler et al (2013) found girls were more positive and motivated in the classroom than boys. Nevertheless, as the authors acknowledged, although significant, the effect sizes suggested these differences were small. And Bulger et al found girls had higher levels of anxiety about their learning (a nervousness about their approach and confidence academically) compared to boys. But again, although statistically significant, the difference was modest. Bulger et al also noted that boys' classroom behaviour was generally worse than that of girls, with an association between behaviour and motivation. However, interestingly, while these differences were associated with behaviours involving hyperactivity, cognition, and inattention, there was no gender difference for oppositional outcomes. Nevertheless, Bulger et al suggested that boys with lower motivation display more poor behaviour than low-motivated girls. The suggestion that boys were more likely than girls to outwardly manifest their low motivation is interesting when looking at boys' increased likelihood of exclusion (DfE 2013). And the idea that increasing motivation may be linked to improving behaviour challenges the deficit model approach to the disengaged minority. Nevertheless, perhaps the most interesting finding of Bulger et al's research was that, overall, student self-reported differences in attitude to school, even when statistically significant, were

generally modest.

Like Bugler et al, Martin (2007), studying over 12,000 Australian students, showed that gender differences in motivation were differences of character as well as quantity. And, as we move on to look at teachers' perceptions of boys and girls in the classroom, it will be interesting to reflect on whether these character differences come into play. Martin (p429) found girls had

"a more adaptive pattern of motivation and engagement"

compared to boys. This encompassed a more organised approach, a more persistent attitude to learning, and attaching more value to education. But like Bugler et al, Martin also found girls less confident than boys in terms of fearing failure and performance under pressure. However, are such positive motivational characteristics and academic anxieties likely to affect the way practitioners judge the attitudes towards school of boys and girls?

Myhill and Jones (2006), noting that for several decades researchers have produced evidence showing teachers differentiate by gender in their attitudes to students, cited the conclusions in Marland (1983) that such differentiation *"amplified society's stereotypes"* (Myhill and Jones p99). They suggested that this is still the case. A detailed discussion on this is beyond the scope of this review, but it is pertinent to accept Myhill and Jones' view that current feminist perspectives, while acknowledging distinct biological sexes, see gender identity as primarily socially

constructed. And, as they pointed out:

> *"schools are one of the social contexts gender appropriate behaviour is defined and constructed. Schools can either reproduce the dominant gender ideology of the wider society or be a site for developing non-traditional gender identities"* Myhill and Jones (2006 p100)

Myhill and Jones used data from 36 classes in a range of schools with students aged from five to fifteen. Analysing a single question asking whether teachers treat boys and girls in the same way, they found that boys and girls of all ages felt boys were treated less favourably than girls, particularly in behavioural issues. Interestingly, this perception was most pronounced in older students. However, the reasons behind the observations differed according to gender. Girls suggested it was down to boys' own indiscipline, while boys blamed unfairness from teachers. By year 8 Myhill and Jones found students of both genders starting to see teachers gender stereotyping in behavioural and academic expectations. They found a perception among students that teachers liked girls more than boys.

Certainly, a recent report by the NUT, which as a trades union would not criticise its members without careful consideration, suggested that gender stereotyping was evident in primary schools:

> *"Much of the evidence gathered for the report indicates that challenging gender stereotypes across the whole curriculum needs to be an explicit objective. Many of the sexist*

> *representations of male and female characters in books and other resources – as well as the attitudes of pupils (and staff) – went unnoticed until schools were prompted to look for them."* NUT (2013 p26)

The NUT was suggesting, then, that gender stereotyping is institutionalised within education, evident in teachers' perceptions, but also in the curriculum, resources, and practice of primary schools. The school-based construction of gender, the NUT found, was well underway before students began secondary school. Certainly, Van Houtte (2007), researching nearly four hundred teachers in Belgium, affirmed the differences noted in Myhill and Jones (2006) that teachers tended to see girls more positively than boys. Male teachers particularly were likely to favour girls because they were considered more teachable (Van Houtte 2007). And a Finnish study (Mullola et al 2012), where 221 teachers rated their students, confirmed that teachers viewed boys negatively compared to girls. Boys were seen as less persistent, less educationally competent, and temperamentally less suited to school, than girls. Importantly, the student self-reported differences in school attitude noted by Bugler et al (2013) were relatively small compared to the larger teacher-perceived differences noted by Van Houtte (2007), and Mullola et al (2012). The findings of Gerrahy (2003) make an interesting conclusion to the discussion on gender. Concluding her case study comparing teachers' views and teachers' classroom performance she noted:

"their stated beliefs did not align with their observed practices".

(p102)

Ethnicity

The 1988 Education Reform Act gave curricula equality to both genders for the first time in the UK. However, three years previously the Swann Report (1985) addressed the position of ethnic minorities within British schools. As noted above, evidence suggests gender stereotyping remains institutionalised in our schools. And there is also evidence to suggest that ethnic stereotyping is similarly still present. For instance Gilborn et al (2012), in a qualitative study with sixty-two middle-class parents of Black-Caribbean heritage, found the parents perceived their children as negatively viewed by teachers compared to their white peers. The Swann Report was prompted because ethnic minority students faced

"*differing attitudes and expectations on the part of teachers and the education system as a whole"* (The Swann Report 1985 pviii).

It is troubling, therefore, that Gilborn et al (2012) found Black-Caribbean heritage parents feeling that their children were still exposed to low teacher academic expectations and harsher disciplinary treatment compared to other pupils. Gilborn et al captured the racialsed discourse (in schools and wider society) with a poignant quote from one parent whose son said:

"if you are a White kid you can just be a kid, you can just be a

child. But if you are Black, you're a Black child." (p136)

It has been recognised that non-white minorities are perceived in different ways by teachers, sometimes very positively (see Archer and Francis 2005 on Chinese heritage pupils) but sometimes negatively. Children of mixed-heritage, particularly White/non-White heritage, are a good example. As Tikly et al (2004) noted, these children can face particular issues around identity and teacher perception. Tikly et al suggested a mismatch between home, where all aspects of their heritage were valued, and school where:

> *"their mixed identities were either not recognised at all by teachers or were seen in similar terms to Black Caribbean identities. Like their Black Caribbean peers, White/Black Caribbean pupils, particularly boys, were often perceived to have behavioural problems at school."* Tikly et al (2004 p79)

Tikly et al found that mixed-heritage students were perceived by teachers as Black-Caribbean, and faced the same prejudice as that noted above by Gilborn et al (2012).

This misrecognition was consequential given that Archer (2008 p90) felt that due to perceived anti-authoritarian school attitudes

> *"a moral panic has arisen around Black Caribbean boys"*

Using four different data sets Archer compiled a hierarchy of how different groups were perceived. Black boys, Muslim boys, and students with English as an additional language were at the bottom of the

hierarchy. And Archer noted the demonization of certain groups. Black pupils were viewed as problematic and rising Islamaphobic perceptions differentiated

> *"Asian 'achievers' and Muslim 'believers'"* (p94).

On the other hand, Chinese, Asian non-Muslims, and White middle-class pupils were top of the hierarchy and perceived as traditional academic achievers. And although it is nearly thirty years since The Swann Report, Archer (p103) concluded that there is:

> *"an urgent need to loosen and broaden the dominant discourses within which minority ethnic young people find themselves positioned as learners".*

SEN

SEN students are another group often finding themselves awkwardly positioned in schools. One poignant example of this was the legendary Wales and Lions rugby international, Scott Quinnell. These days his dyslexia would, no doubt, have been identified earlier. But Quinnell started school in the 1970s, an era when dyslexia, often being seen as myth, was not widely understood in classrooms. As a DENI (2002) report noted, it was not until the 1960s that anything other than a medical model of dyslexia was considered, and when Quinnell went to school many practitioners still regarded dyslexics as simply 'backward'. Quinnell was undiagnosed until adulthood when another dyslexic rugby

star, Kenny Logan, spotted the signs and suggested he get help. Quinnell's story illustrates how the education system can construct the attitudes of children with learning difficulties. As he said, on starting primary school:

> *"I was quite a confident kid, eager to have a go at anything."* (Quinnell 2012 loc.31)

He enjoyed primary school where he was nurtured and appreciated. But he was not prepared for secondary school, noting:

> *"it's the first time in your life your academic ability is truly measured, and by being put into streams or sets you get labelled. I found this particularly difficult*." (Quinnell 2012 loc.50)

As teachers labelled him lazy or stupid his academic confidence disappeared. He was bottom of every class. He described "*constant rows"* (loc.65) with teachers as relationships broke down. By the time he was fourteen he was:

> *"…out of control. I'd get increasingly frustrated with myself and got into a fair bit of trouble – if I could get kicked out of a lesson or miss one completely, all the better. I once even punched a friend after a minor argument, breaking his eye-socket in the process."* (Quinnell 2012 loc.81)

What emerged, then, was a boy estranged from his teachers, rejecting education system, and with increasingly strained peer-to-peer relationships. Yet Quinnell came from a caring, supportive, home (his father was also an international rugby player) and he was nurtured by a

sporting community where he operated with confidence and outstanding success. Outcomes for others, without such exceptional non-academic talents, would surely have been very different.

More recent evidence suggested that even when learning difficulties are diagnosed, the risks faced by students of the Quinnell era have not disappeared. For instance, The Bercow Report (DCSF 2008) into children with Speech, Language and Communication Needs (SLCN) highlighted how these pupils were often perceived as having poor behaviour, difficulties relating to peers, an increased likelihood of being bullied, and poor academic performance compared to others at the end of KS2 and KS4. Hardly surprisingly, then, the report concluded that SLCN students

> *"are at higher risk of developing behavioural, emotional and social difficulties"* (p18)

resulting in higher levels of school exclusion.

Jordan (2008) discussed how children on the ASD spectrum may face isolation in mainstream schools. She observed that much of the support provided was associated with withdrawal, making ASD students feel (and appear) isolated from their peers. And, as with dyslexia in the Quinnell story (although perhaps less extreme these days), Jordan suggested a lack of training in, and understanding of, ASD (and, indeed, SEN generally) in the teacher workforce. She called on the profession to:

> *Imagine an educational system that recognised that to treat people equally we have to treat them differently, not the same. Imagine teachers who displayed informed empathy for those who are different (including those with ASD) just as much as they tried to teach children 'emotional literacy*'. (Jordan 2008 p13)

Jordan called on practitioners to increase their level of empathy with ASD students and to consider looking at their own practice, rather than blaming students, when strategies were unsuccessful.

However, there are tensions here. Ball (2003p 216) discussed the performativity agenda *"based on rewards and sanctions"* invading the education sector and, over a decade on, that agenda shows little sign of abating. Furthermore, as Glazzard and Dale (2013 p186) observed:

> *"The current focus on performativity marginalises learners with SEN and constructs barriers to their participation and achievement."*

Glazzard and Dale discussed how a performative standards-based approach to inclusion (focused on shrinking the results gap between SEN and non-SEN pupils) actually encourages the marginalisation and pathologisation of vulnerable students by removing the emphasis from social support and care, and investing it in academic achievements. Inevitably, Glazzard and Dale observed, this tension between standards and support leads to inconsistent practice, with some practitioners bending further than others towards the standards-driven agenda.

Certainly, evidence from America has found inconsistency in teachers' relationships with ADHD students (Greene et al 2002; Schulz and Evans 2012). Greene et al noted that all teachers found ADH students more stressful to teach than others, but there were large variations between colleagues, and those teachers that were the least stressed were the most beneficial for ADH students. Schulz and Evans, studying seventy-nine students with ADHD, found considerable inconsistencies in teacher perceptions, with experienced teachers being more positive in their opinions of ADHD students than younger teachers. Given the conclusions of Sherman et al's (2008) extensive literature review on ADHD, these inconsistencies would have an impact because:

> *"how teachers react to and view ADHD behaviours and various treatments can influence student behaviour, how the children view themselves in relation to their peers, and social and academic outcomes".* Sherman et al (2008 p357)

Of course, it has to be recognised that there is a huge range of SENs and they cannot all be considered here. However, the above discussion highlights certain common elements (inclusion, self-esteem, teacher and peer relationships, and teachers' perceptions) that may impact on some or all students with an SEN.

Single-Parent Families

Like the chav, single-parent families have come in for their fair share of demonization. The Daily Telegraph (Paton 2010) provided a good example with an article headed:

> *“Children in single parent families 'worse behaved': children raised by single mothers are twice as likely to misbehave as those born into traditional two-parent families”*

However, it became clear that Paton had drawn his strapline from the fact that 12% of single-parent children, as opposed to 6% of others, misbehaved in school. Paton could have chosen to focus on acceptable behaviour by highlighting the fact that 88% of single-parent children and 94% of other children behaved in school, a relatively small difference. Demonising single-parent families is good copy. Congratulating them on doing nearly as well as other families is not. Furthermore, single-parent families have to deal with a society continuing to label them as ‘other’. As Zartler (2014 p604) pointed out:

> *“Negative and stigmatizing connotations with regard to single-parent families are still present, and the nuclear family ideology remains the yardstick against which single parents are perceived”.*

This suggested, then, that decades after the writings of Murdock and Parsons, the functionalist dominance of the nuclear family remains.

Zartler’s study confirmed that the status of the nuclear family remains so powerful that it was considered ‘normal’ even by members of single-parent households. Parents from all forms of family in Zartler’s interviews viewed single-parent households as deficient, focusing on

what was absent rather than what was present (Zartler 2014). Single-parents and their children, Zartler noted, felt a sense of difference, and a sense that the 'normal' society around them perceived them as both different and deficient. To cope with this single-parent families employed three main strategies: imitation (making the family appear similar to a nuclear family); compensation (attempting to make up for the missing attributes of the non-resident parent); and delimitation (keeping family make-up invisible to outsiders). Zartler warned that the last of these strategies, particularly if adopted by both parents and children, put children at risk of isolation both in the community and at school.

Nevertheless, other writers have suggested that the deficiencies of single-parent families can be overplayed. Mooney et al (2009) pointed out that many supposed deficiencies, including educational qualifications, were not large. Indeed, they suggested that given the option of a dysfunctional two-parent household or a functional single-parent household, that later is often preferable. Mooney et al were clear that they saw socio-economic influences, particularly poverty, as more influential on the quality of childhood than whether homes contained one or two parents. Other studies, such as Golombuk and Badger (2010), have also concluded that the differences between single-parent and two-parent families are exaggerated. Golombuk and Badger's research, using data collected from 63 English families, observed that children of single-parents enjoyed equally good relationships with their

parent and their peers as other children. So, in contrast to Zartler (2014), Golombuk and Badger did not report an increased risk of social isolation.

2.7 School Practices: Ability Grouping

This review began with a discussion on the historical aspects of educational inequality and selection, and it is fitting, therefore, that it concludes with present-day selection in our schools. As Abraham (2008 p855) observed, since the election of New Labour:

> *"setting has become the dominant form of organising secondary schooling in Britain in most subjects and the preferred approach by governments"*

Yet the academic benefit of ability-grouping is contested. Sukhnandan and Lee (1998) in their extensive literature review on grouping methods concluded that overall achievement is no different whether ability-grouping or mixed-ability teaching is used. And Hallam and Ireson (2001, 2006, 2007), who have written extensively on ability grouping, concluded that it favours high attainers at the expense of lower attainers. However, Hallam and Ireson (2001; 2006) have also suggested that a majority of students, particularly girls, had a preference for ability-grouped teaching. Nevertheless, they acknowledged that this preference was influenced by practices in the schools attended. And, given that only 3 of the 45 schools studied had

no ability groups, and just 15 had a majority of mixed-ability teaching, Abraham (2008) has highlighted that claims for a preference for setting are misleading. Students, Abraham suggested, were influenced by, and conforming to, the dominant ideologies of their schools.

What Abraham's analysis of Hallam and Ireson's work showed is that although ability grouping it is extensive, it also:

> *"generates some paradoxes, tensions and questions of methodological and policy relevance that remain unexplored in their writings"* (Abraham 2008 p856).

For instance, discussing Hallam and Ireson (2006 and 2007), Abraham noted how the rejection of setting is largest in bottom groups, and smallest in top sets. Furthermore, when it comes to placement, more students wanted to move to higher sets than to lower sets. According to Abraham, this indicated concerns with status rather than work-level. If work-level was the major concern, as many students would wish to move down as wished to move up.

Abraham's observations are of interest because they focused is on how ability grouping affects identity and perceived attitudes to school. However, the academic effectiveness of ability grouping, particularly the gainers and losers, must be discussed in order to consider which student groups are more likely than others to be placed in positions of advantage or disadvantage. In an analysis of a wide range of literature from developed countries in Europe and America, Schofield (2010)

backed up Hallam and Ireson's assertion that setting favours higher achievers. Schofield also noted that it tended to widen the achievement gap between the most and least able, something which, according to Duckworth et al (2009), applies in the UK context. Nevertheless, a study of twenty-four English schools by Kutnick et al (2006) found that mixed-ability dominated schools performed just as well as schools using setting. This confirmed the findings of Ireson et al (2005 p454) that:

> *"setting…had little overall impact on GCSE attainment in English, mathematics or science, when prior attainment was statistically controlled"*

If the overall impact on attainment is so limited, one has to ask why schools continue to adopt a setting system that seems to be widening the gap between the haves and the have-nots?

Certainly one cannot not rule out Araujo's (2007 p254) suspicion that New Labour's endorsement of ability grouping was

> *"to attract middle-class parents to, and restore their confidence in, the state sector".*

Araujo suggested setting creates havens within urban comprehensives where middle class children can go unmolested by the undesirables anchored firmly in the bottom sets. Kutnick et al (2005) backed up this point in their research review, suggesting middle class families encourage schools to set because they feel it will be to their advantage. In the same review they cited research (Boaler 1997; Boaler et al 2000; Wiliam and Bartholomew 2004) suggesting that poorer students, boys,

and some minorities, were more likely than others to be in low groups. This was a considerable disadvantage according to Wiliam and Bartholomew (2004) who found that, in five out of the six schools studied, when pupils of the same prior ability were placed in different sets, those in the higher sets gained better GCSE grades (with mean differences ranging from half a grade to three grades). Certainly Boaler et al (2000) pointed out that students in low sets felt their work was too easy and teachers' expectations were too low. Indeed, nearly four times as many low set students reported this finding compared to higher set students. And interestingly, Boaler et al noted that while the schools in her study suggested there was mobility between ability groups, students believed their chances of moving into higher groups were minimal.

Not surprisingly, then, as well as academic disadvantages, there are issues of identity and status that may negatively affect lower set students. Certainly Kelly and Carbonaro (2012 p273) suggested that

> *"researchers consistently find that both teachers and students respond poorly to low track classroom learning environments."*

Kelly and Carbonaro noted a mutual negativity from pupils and practitioners. They considered the suggestion that both teacher expectations and student behaviour respond differently, and adjust, in different classroom contexts. Using a large USA data set (NELS) they found that when the same student was in different ability groups for different classes, teacher expectation (on the likelihood of going to college) was lower in the lower group and higher in the higher group.

Students, then, were perceived according to their classroom contexts as well as their personal characteristics, and their personal characteristics adjusted according to the classroom context.

Kelly (2009) explored how students reconciled their concerns with status by forming the oppositional sub-cultures described in Hargreaves (1967), Lacey (1970), Willis (1977) and Ball (1981). He described a form of Social Identity Theory (Differential Polarization) in which students created alternative status-markers which often opposed the dominant values of the school: disruptive behaviour, fighting ability, sporting prowess, smoking, drinking, fashion, incorrect uniform, and so on. Low in the pecking-order academically, lower set students created a sub-culture with status-markers that enabled an alternative pecking-order in which they could be successful. Importantly, Kelly (2009) noted that this creativity was social, a communal response that set new communal values polarised from the expected values of the school. As the polarization grows, so peer pressure to conform to the standards of the subculture gains momentum. Being pro-school in a classroom dominated by such subcultures would be difficult. It would threaten the group-values, and be likely to result in isolation.

Ability-group placement, then, impacts on students in a number of ways. It can affect achievement, self-esteem, peer group pressure, identity, status, behaviour, and conformity to school values. In short, it can have

a huge effect on a student's school experience. As Wiliam and Bartholomew (2004) stated in the title of their article:

"*It's not which school but which set you're in that matters".*

So, why have head teachers not abandoned ability grouping? Certainly, if we were designing a new school based on social and educational equality, where students of all characteristics rubbed shoulders in a non-segregated situation, we would surely abandon ability grouping without a second thought. However, as Trigg-Smith (2011) pointed out, for the head-teachers who have to make such decisions, the situation is characterised by uncertainties and conflicting tensions. Trigg-Smith noted that head-teachers work under pressure from political policy agendas which, as outlined in the historical analysis, have been dominated by pro-setting rhetoric. Head-teachers, she suggested, remain continually mindful of the performativity agenda that determines accountability in percentages of SATs levels and GCSE passes. And the problem, Trigg-Smith observed, is that research findings on achievement and ability-grouping remain inconclusive. As Suklhnandan and Lee (1998) noted, overall achievement is little different which ever system is adopted. There may be winners and losers with ability grouping, but as Abraham (2008) said, setting is the default option in most schools. Perhaps the evidence has just not been compelling enough to convince head-teachers that it justifies the risk of change.

2.8 Summary and Key Questions

The historical discussion at the start of this review suggested that despite a huge amount of legislative and organisational change in English schooling over the last century and a half, underlying inequalities based on socio-economic status remain embedded in the *bildungssystem.* The upper, middle, and lower class routes mapped out respectively by the Clarendon, Taunton and Newcastle Commissions were reflected in the Spens Report, the post-1944 tripartite era and, as Coldron et al (2010) pointed out, the English schools admissions system of the marketisation era. But in addition to the difficulties faced by lower socio-economic status students in gaining admission to higher status schools, the studies by Jackson and Marsden (1962), Hargreaves (1967), Lacey (1970), Willis (1977), and Ball (1981), suggested that they faced increased barriers to success within their schools compared to more privileged students. In grammar, secondary modern, and comprehensive schools, the dominant values reflected the middle class culture of the teachers and professionals who designed and dictated practices, curricula, and definitions of merit. The *illusio* (Bourdieu 1992) was the ability to absorb, display, and interact with these dominant values.

Recent studies have demonstrated that students from the least affluent socio-economic backgrounds continue to be less likely to be perceived as successful, and less likely to be located in the most successful

institutions, in comparison to more affluent peers. A string of reports (Goodman and Gregg 2010; Chowdry et al 2009; Ferragina et al 2013; Sutton Trust 2011; Sosu and Ellis 2014; Egan 2012; Horgan 2007) have suggested a failure to narrow the attainment gap between students from advantaged and disadvantaged backgrounds. Furthermore, Crib (2013) noted that Grammar schools enrolled six times fewer FSM students than the national average, while the top five hundred Comprehensives had less than half the national average. And Jerim (2013) suggested that the state education system equipped less than 3% of economically disadvantage students with the skills to access a top university. And yet, as Reay (2006), Tyler (2013) and Dunne and Gazeley (2008) noted, a tenancy to avoid the use of social class labels has developed among politicians and educational professionals as they move the focus away from the economic and structural hurdles faced by disadvantaged groups, and shift it towards a deficit model highlighting the personal inadequacies of families and students. The Demos report by Sodha and Margo (2010) illustrated New Labour's deficit approach with its emphasis on parenting programmes and family interventions to combat the problem of NEET young people, while Gazeley and Dunne (2008) documented how teachers identified poor parenting, chaotic family situations, and lack of home support, as reasons for underachievement by low socio-economic status children. In both cases there was a reluctance to question the efficacy of current practice, values, and curricula. Similarly Horgan (2007) noted how practitioners failed to acknowledge that a lack of financial resources and a poor

physical environment played a part in the capacity of parents to support their children in school. What emerges from the literature is a culture of blame that acts as a smokescreen for the symptoms of material disadvantage.

A key question for this study will be to examine how the organisational habitus of school practitioners perceives and values different groups within the student body. Do lower or higher amounts of socio-economic capital in terms of values (cultural capital), wealth (economic capital), or status (parental occupation), affect the way practitioners negatively or positively view students? Are some groups demonised while others are lauded? And are students with economic and cultural capital nearest to the capital of practitioners more positively perceived by practitioners compared to other students? Such questions will enable the study to ascertain whether or not the hegemonic contest between working and middle class values of previous eras (Jackson and Marsden 1962; Hargreaves 1967; Lacey 1970; Willis 1977; Ball 1981) is still evident in our schools.

The studies of Jackson and Marsden, Hargreaves, Lacey, Willis, and Ball suggested the build-up of an oppositional culture among students who could not reconcile their working-class values with the middle-class values dominating school culture. And certainly, this has been reflected in some twenty-first century narratives such as *Shaun's Story* (Reay 2002). However Croll et al (2008) suggested that qualitative studies

have tended to overestimate this oppositional culture. Croll et al's study found little difference in attitudes to school between students from different socio-economic backgrounds, and Gorard and See (2011) and Lumby (2011) both suggested that social class had little impact on students' enjoyment of school. However, Croll et al did find lower socio-economic background students more likely than others to feel school did not meet their needs. Another key area for this study, therefore, will be to explore students' self-reported attitudes to school. Do students with different socio-economic statuses have different attitudes towards school? And how do differences in students' self-reported attitudes compare with the differences perceived by practitioners?

The study by Croll et al (2008) also suggested that gender differences in student self-reported attitudes to school were small. Similarly, Chedzoy and Burden (2007) and Bulger et al (2013) noted that although girls were slightly more positive towards school than boys, the differences were minor. However, studies by Myhill and Jones (2006), Van Houte (2007), and Mullola et al (2012) suggested teachers saw girls as more teachable and more positive towards school than boys. Again, this study will examine practitioner perceptions of girls' and boys' attitudes to school, comparing them with student self-reported attitudes. It will question whether or not gender stereotyping exists in the collective perceptions of practitioners.

This study will also examine whether the experiences of Scott Quinnell (Quinnell 2012), who had a positive experience of primary school but found difficulty relating to secondary school, are reflected in the views of students with an SEN. The Bercow Report (DCSF 2008) raised the issue of SEN students being labelled as having poor behaviour and finding it difficult to relate to peers, while Jordan (2008) highlighted the dangers of some SEN students experiencing social isolation, and noted a lack of practitioner empathy towards SEN students. This study will question whether or not SEN students have a more negative self-reported attitude to school compared to their non-SEN peers, as well as examining whether, like Quinnell, their academic self-concept is low compared to other students. It will also ask whether practitioners perceive SEN students as less positive than their peers in their attitudes to school and their ability to relate to students and staff.

Practitioner attitudes towards students form different ethnic groups will be examined, particularly in light of the suggestion in Gilborn (2012) that Afro-Caribbean parents felt their children were likely to treated more strictly by practitioners, and likely to have less expected of them by teachers, compared to white children. This study will compare the self-reported attitudes to school of different ethnic groups, as well as looking at practitioner perceptions to examine whether or they are consistent across a range of ethnic backgrounds.

Kelly (2009) and Kelly and Carbonaro (2012) suggested that school structures such as ability grouping could result in differential polarization reinforcing anti-school attitudes in lower sets and pro-school attitudes in higher sets. Furthermore, studies by Boaler et al (2000) and Wiliam and Bartholomew (2004) have found poorer students over-represented in lower ability groups, while Kutnick (2005) observed that middle class families understood the advantage ability grouping gave them. Certainly Hallam and Ireson (2001, 2006, 2007) and Wiliam and Bartholomew (2004) noted that those in higher sets gained more benefit from ability grouping than those in lower sets. Yet, Hallam and Ireson found children were in favour of setting, although Abraham (2008) suggested this was due to misrecognition (Scott 2012) in which the pressure of symbolic violence leads pupils to normalise the ability grouping systems found in the majority of secondary schools. However, a key task for this study, bearing in mind Abraham's suggestion that students' views are dictated by a reluctance to challenge the practitioner-dictated pedagogical ideology, is to unpick students' perceptions of ability grouping, and practitioner decisions in allocating ability groups. This study will question whether or not students' characteristics or levels of capital dictate their ability group placements. It will also examine differences in the way practitioners perceive different ability groups in the light of Kelly and Carbonaro's (2012) assertion that lower set students are more negatively viewed than others. The analysis of ability groups will also explore whether or not the ability grouping system promotes the social segregation discussed in the historical analysis. Does it show the early

formation of a disengaged minority (Sodha and Margo 2010; Kettlewell et al 2012) with the development of an oppositional culture? And does it suggest the existence of a segregated high capital group (Araujo 2007) characterised by pro-school values?

As indicated above, this study will build on previous research in key areas of educational inequality. However, it will also add new dimensions to the existing debates. Particularly, it will examine students' attitudes towards school by comparing and contrasting practitioner perceptions of students with the students' self-reported views. It will examine the wide range of student groups discussed above simultaneously and in a single setting. By focusing on difference it will explore the nature of inequalities in the way students are viewed by practitioners, and how practitioners award merit in terms of perceived motivation, attitude, and ability group placement. By exploring the different levels of capital and characteristics possessed by different groups, and mapping them to the perceptions of practitioners, this study will tease out the qualities valued by the collective practitioner habitus. And by analysing the differences between self-reported and practitioner-perceived attitudes to school it will explore whether or not some groups of students are misjudged or treated less favourably by practitioners compared to others.

Chapter 3 Methodology and Methods

3.1 The Conceptual Framework

> *"We can be against critical theory or for it, but, especially at the present historical juncture, we cannot be without it*." (Kincheloe and Mclaren 2005 p485)

Critical theory provided the conceptual framework for this study because, as argued in the historical analysis, there has been a shift away from the openly acknowledged inequalities of the late nineteenth century to an age where it is unclear whether the claims of politicians, leaders, managers, and institutions represent the reality of what they see or a picture of what they would like people to believe. Since the Spens Report (Board of Education 1938) policy makers have created myths of parity, claims of equal opportunity, and avenues for social mobility that are contentious. Secondary modern schools were supposed to have parity of status with grammar schools. Grammar schools were supposed to offer social mobility to the working classes. Comprehensive schools were supposed to give everyone an equal opportunity to succeed and to end educational segregation. The marketization of schools was supposed to give parents more choice about where their children went to school. The need for critical theory is rooted in the explosion of communication, driven by the technological revolution in the latter part of the twentieth and early twenty-first

centuries, which has resulted in a plethora of messages, policies, vision statements, spin, opinion, comment, research, advice, claim, and counterclaim. With so many versions and visions of the world in circulation, more often than not, reality is beyond consensus. But critical theory, with its emphasis on perception rather than reality, is able to embrace a lack of consensus.

Giroux (2009) and Kincheloe and Mclaren (2005) asserted that when the Frankfurt School developed the notion of critical theory there was never a complete consensus in its definition. This is not surprising. Critical theory evolved in the 1930s and its leading lights (including Horkheimer, Adorno, Marcuse, and Fromm) had already lived through the disaster of the First World War and were trying to make sense of a world thrown into turmoil by the rise of European fascism. They were rationalising a world no longer fitting what Giroux (2009 p27) described as

> *"the theoretical baggage of orthodox Marxism"*.

The conventional idea of workers rising to assert their rights on the barricades bore little resemblance to the revolutionary changes in Germany, Italy, Spain, and to some extent, with the popularity of Moseley's Blackshirts, England. Adorno's biographer, Müller-Doohm (2005p169) described him as *"overwhelmed by shame at his impotence"* as the Nazi pogroms led to

> *"the flight in panic of Jewish fellow citizens, left-wing politicians, and oppositional intellectuals."* Müller-Doohm (2005p169)

And Adorno himself, writing in 1944, offered an insight into how this shame developed:

> *"Part of the mechanism of domination is that one is forbidden to recognize the suffering which that domination produces….the construction of slaughter-houses for human beings so far off in Poland, that everyone in one's own ethnic group can convince themselves they don't hear the screams of pain."* (Adorno 2005/1951 Aphorism 38)

This glimpse into Adorno's relationship with the Third Reich highlights how critical theory was as much embedded in personal experience as it was in intellectual capacity. Early critical theory – with ideas of perception-based domination, legitimacy and reality – was firmly rooted in the personal experiences of its founding fathers.

Yet, turning their backs on Europe, these scholars faced a new struggle: how to rationalise and theorise the capitalist, consumerist, and discriminatory arena of the USA. The critical theorists were not, of course, the first European intellectuals to question what lay beneath the American veneer. For example, the great Czech composer Antonin Dvořák had, some four decades before, struggled to understand American racism, while at the same time being entranced by the enthusiasm and vibrancy of American life (Horovitz 2008). Dvořák was not seeking asylum from fascism. Rather, he was lured across the Atlantic by the considerable monetary rewards on offer. Yet he was immediately struck by the inequalities embedded in the American

structures and expressed this awe and unease through his music. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the first movement of Dvořák's ninth symphony, whose introduction was steeped in *"Darkness, light, and latent energy"* (Robertson 1949 p290). The measured opening bars suggested a new and magical panorama: the New World which gave the symphony its name. But within a minute this beckoning sense of wonder was smashed with an aggressive three chord thrust of low, earthy strings and a klaxon-call from the brass. This symphony has, unfortunately, become sentimentalised in recent years, particularly since the tacky use of the Largo in a 1970's advertising campaign for Hovis bread. However, such sentimentality is deeply misleading. For just as Shostakovich used music to depict the intricacies of Soviet Russia which, if verbalised, would have been intellectual suicide, Dvořák was able to express through music a view of America that if composed in words would have made life difficult.

But how much starker must America have seemed to European intellectuals seeking safety rather than financial advancement and adventure. Certainly, the émigré scholars of the Frankfurt School were uneasy in their new society, albeit with less aggressive symptoms than in Germany. As Müller-Doohm (2005p170) pointed out,

> "*the bitter experience of an alien in exile was congruent with the general experience of the intellectual as an outsider*".

Adorno, for one, was acutely aware of the hierarchical nature of enfranchisement in America, noting:

> *“The share of the social surplus allocated to foreigners is never enough to go around and drives them into a hopeless secondary competition amongst themselves, in the midst of the more general one*.” (Adorno 2005/1951 Aphorism 13)

And running through the aphorisms of *Minima Moralia* (Adorno 2005/1951) was a recognition that in its own way the USA, like Nazi Germany, was a false system. Not the land of the free, but a myriad of disenfranchisement, deception, and discrimination. Yet, while the situation of the émigré scholars was certainly less comfortable compared to the experience of Dvořák, it was in some ways more suited to their intellectual disposition. As Müller-Doohm (p171) argued, Adorno was an “*intentional outsider”,* a stance that suited his philosophical view of the world long before his exile in America. The chaotic personal situations of the Frankfurt School members in the 1930s reinforced, rather than invented, their need to question the norms, conventions, and assumptions of society. The confused socio-political backdrop engulfing them created a discussion rather than a response, a debate rather than a solution.

But it is this discursive reaction, this lack of complete consensus, which became the strength of critical theory. At its heart, critical theory promotes the idea that perception and objectivity are different, that for people and relationships, particularly where hegemony is concerned, perception is the key to understanding. As Kincheloe and Maclaren (2005) pointed out, there is a critical tradition, a movement rather than a

single theoretical stance whose *“blueprints of socio-political and epistemological beliefs*” (p287) would actually undermine the nature of a single stance. Critical theory, then, is as much attitudinal as it is theoretical. What unified the Frankfurt School was an ethos based around emancipation through the understanding of perceptions rather than through a search for objective, rational, truth. Marcuse summed this up neatly:

> *“Empiricism is not necessarily positive; its attitude to the established reality depends on the particular dimension of experience which functions as the source of knowledge and as the basic frame of reference.”* (Marcuse 1964 p125)

Or to put I another way, perceived and defined reality is dependent on the perceivers and definers, not on the reality itself (if such a thing exists).

Certainly, the development of critical theory, particularly its treatment of instrumental reason, was in some ways a response to a positivist notion of the search for an uncontested truth (Kincheloe and Maclaren 2005). This uncontested notion of truth, according to Adorno and Horkheimer (1997/1947) was connected to established hegemonies and their retention of control:

> *“There is the agreement – or at least the determination – of all executive authorities not to produce or sanction anything that in any way differs from their own rules, their own ideas about*

consumers, or above all, themselves" (Adorno and Horkheimer (1997/1947 p 122).

Critical theory, then, is a response to the notion of uncontested truth, particularly where those that seek to maintain such a notion have the vested interests of their own authority at stake. The idea of contested truth (in terms of values, judgements, and perceptions) was the conceptual basis for this research. By using key judgements made by the "*executive authorities*" of the school (the teachers and pastoral managers) as well as the judgements of the students themselves, it sought to question the practice, perceptions, and equality of provision in the school. By comparing and contrasting the way practitioners viewed different groups of students and the way those students viewed their own attitudes to school, the research sought to tease out and contrast the perceptions held by different groups. Particularly, it examined where the *"executive authority*" celebrated merit and located opprobrium.

If the dominant values of the *"executive authority"* were accepted it would have dictated the perspectives of the research. One might have said: these students are developing anti-school attitudes. Where are they going wrong? What can we do to help them change? How can we bring them into our own values system? By not accepting the dominant values as universal, by judging them as neither correct nor incorrect, the critical theorist asks different questions. What are the values of those with anti-school attitudes? How can we change our understanding, values, and practices to accommodate their experiences

and their world? By changing the actions, attitudes, and knowledge of the institutions that through the force of law have taken responsibility for schooling, we can change the life-chances of our students.

The reconceptualization of critical theory by Kincheloe and Mclaren (2005) was used to underpin the conception, construction, and interpretation of this research project. There may seem a contradiction here given that Kincheloe and Mclaren's text was called "*Rethinking Critical Theory and Qualitative Research*", while this project was based on quantitative methods. However, while the collection methods and the data analyses were certainly quantitative in style, the majority of the data were based on qualitative perceptions, opinions, and attitudes. Most of the questions in the student attitudinal questionnaires and the practitioner questionnaires required a qualitative rating to create a quantitative measure. And the same was true for the teacher-perceived motivation grades. All of these data, although numeric for the purpose of analysis, were generated through a qualitative judgement. And this is why, although the manipulation of the data used quantitative methods, a qualitative critical stance underpinned its interpretation and discussion.

The first theme of Kincheloe and McLaren's reconceptualization dealt with societal organisation, the practices and processes governing how individuals and categorical groups interact and inter-relate. They called this *"critical enlightenment"* and related it to things as they are (the status quo) and things as they might be. Things as they might be could

be a change to something different or no change at all. The key to enlightenment is in understanding the relative advantages, for different stakeholders, in maintaining things as they are, and the potential impacts, positive and negative, of any changes that might be made.

It is interesting to note that Habermas (1974) raised the possibility that the *Bildungssytem* (the education system in its widest sense incorporating its philosophies, provisions, aims, and practices) might become the most influential arena for enlightenment. This is partly because, given the pluralistic and fragmented nature of modern society, the education system is a field where pluralities intersect. In this research, then, critical enlightenment focused on this field of intersection through the case study of a single school. It looked at how different groups saw each other, particularly the different perceptions held by the dominant (practitioner) group of the various subordinate (client) groups, and *vice versa*. By looking at practitioner perceptions of the conformity and ethos of subordinate groups this research questioned notions of equality and fairness in education. It examined how practitioners placed different groups and individuals in their perceptual hierarchies of attitudes to school, ability, motivation, and conformity to the dominant culture. By contrasting practitioner and student self-reported perceptions it questioned whether the practitioner-perceived differences between student groups were reflected in students' views about themselves.

However, to be of practical use critical enlightenment must be harnessed to the notion of critical emancipation. Kincheloe and McLaren quite rightly highlighted the fine line between a meaningful, functional emancipation, and an arrogant, condescending notion of the scholar charging with a cavalry of words to liberate the oppressed subordinate classes. Certainly, the idea of emancipation needs to be separated from a simplistic notion of victims and oppressors. Carr (2000) related emancipation to organisational change noting that:

> *"Dialectical sensitivity leads the manager/administrator to recognise that they are not only part of the transforming "process" but themselves are also being acted upon."* Carr (2000 p217)

Teachers, as Carr suggested, are certainly "*acted upon":* Ofsted, league tables, centralised curricula, political interference and pressure, lack of resources, unrealistic workloads, performance management, target-driven agendas. All of these external forces act upon practitioners as individuals, and upon individual institutions. At the centre of this research was the idea that emancipation is not simply about individuals or groups, rather it is about institutional emancipation. It is about the fact that the individual aims, values, and aspirations of practitioners, and the stated aims and values of the school, may not necessarily be reflected in practice.

Every teacher I encountered in the school where this research took place (and after working with them for five years I knew many of them well) was clear about the fact that they wanted the best for all students.

They wanted each one to be successful and to achieve their full potential. The teachers were sincere in their belief that, as individuals, they did not discriminate against any particular group, or give some students more favourable treatment than others. They believed in the notion of equality. And yet the picture painted by the data, much of which comes from the practitioners themselves, told a different story. Emancipation, then, begins with practitioners who can examine the outcomes of this research, and similar research, and ask the question: how can we as individuals, and we as a corporate body, change our practice so that the institutional outcomes reflect our individual aspirations? Freire (2005) summed up the potential of practitioners leading transformation when he said:

> *"preparation of teachers, preparation informed by political clarity, by the capacity of teachers' desire to learn, and by their constant and open curiosity, represents the best political tool in the defense of their interests and rights."* Freire (2006 p14/15)

Kincheloe and McLaren also looked at the interplay between individual and communal values from a psychoanalytical viewpoint, discussing

> *"unconscious processes that create resistance to progressive change"* (p289).

They highlighted the rejection of the idea that individuals within an organisation are *"rational and autonomous beings"* (p290). As well as being acted upon by external pressures, every individual interacts with, reacts to, and helps to create, the internal norms and values of their

organisation. And these norms can be constructed and guided by powerful community forces governing identity, morality, rationality, merit, practice, and success, to name but a few. Together they form what might be described as a dominant ethos. Kincheloe and McLaren (p290) suggested that

“the psychic is no longer separated from the socio-political realm”.

A stark example of this was the institutional racism described in the Macpherson Report (1999) into the murder of Stephen Lawrence. Macpherson was clear that the policies of the Metropolitan Police were not racist, and later added that the average police officer was not, individually, racist. But equally, individuals could not escape the internal norms that led to institutional racism arising

“out of uncritical self-understanding born out of an inflexible police ethos of the "traditional" way of doing things”. (Macpherson 6.17)

The idea of a school full of individually prejudiced practitioners consciously disadvantaging certain groups does not square with the people I knew. But by empowering practitioners with an awareness of the institutional discrimination in their workplace, practitioners can begin to find ways to free themselves from the external and internal pressures acting upon them, and in turn improve the lot of disadvantaged students within the school community. Emancipation, then, is not simply about individuals, but about transforming communities.

Kincheloe and McLaren also affirmed that critical theory must reject a narrow adherence to the Marxist notion of economic determinism. The

nature of the community where this research was based has already been highlighted as a field where pluralities intersect. Of course, this research considered economic determinants in some detail, but they were only part of the picture. Cultural, familial, and linguistic capitals, as well as gender, race, academic ability, and educational disability, were all integral to this project. The idea that all of these elements are narrowly underpinned by economics cannot be taken for granted. To be fair to Marx, many commentators (including Bronner and Kellner 1989) have accepted that such a narrow interpretation came to the fore because it suited the reductionist ideologies of some early twentieth-century Marxists. Indeed, Kincheloe and McLaren were careful to refer to economic determinism as “orthodox” Marxism. But what is important is the recognition by critical theorists of a pluralistic, rather than purely economic, determinism which can shift as the cultural characteristics of society shift. In that respect critical theory may be considered to adapt and expand economic determinism rather than reject it outright.

The recognition of a lack of cultural and economic stasis in society (that there is movement, perception, and interpretation) influenced the critical theorists’ consideration of instrumental rationality:

> *“A norm has a binding character – therein consists its validity claim. But if only empirical motives (such as inclinations, interests, and fear of sanctions) sustain the agreement it is impossible to see why a party to the contract should continue to feel bound to the norms when his motives change.”* Habermas (1988 p104)

The interlinking of mass culture and cultural domination is a well-established theme in critical theory discussions. However, the nuances have changed. From today's spangled standpoint there is a naïve quality to the fears voiced by Adorno and Horkheimer (1944/1997) that the burgeoning film industry, particularly what they termed *"the sound film*", would smother the imagination and creativity of the population. Sound, they felt, was a key component in the domination and control of the producers. The talkie film was part of the idea that

> *"The whole world is made to pass through the filter of the culture industry*" (p126).

Kincheloe and Mclaren's reconceptualisation in this area was based on the increasing complexity, accessibility, and diversity of mass-media. However, it is worth noting that the idea of a loss of distinction between the real and the simulated as *"a social vertigo"* (Kincheloe and Mclaren p292) separating individuals from their history, culture, and community, is not new. One of the key fears of Adorno and Horkheimer (1944/1977) was that speech movies and real life were merging. Nevertheless, the changing nature of media, particularly the development of the world-wide-web and mobile technologies, has led to a change in the way people interact with media. In the world of Adorno and Horkheimer the relationship between the media (films, radio, theatre, books, newspapers) was, in the main, a one-way process: people viewed, read, or listened to what was on offer. But today, in the world of blogging, podcasts, Twitter, and Facebook, there is an increasing

dialogue between people and media systems, and between people and other people. But how free is this dialogue? Who controls and patrols the systems of communication? Scott (2014) reported in *The Guardian* how the Turkish government had banned both YouTube and Twitter in the run up to municipal elections. In 2013 seventeen year old Paris Brown was forced to resign as Kent's Youth Crime Commissioner because of comments she made on Twitter when she was under the age of sixteen. So, while new media enables dialogue, it is conditional. It is governed by the people, governments, and organisations that have the power and knowledge to control it and to use it to promote their own agendas.

And how does this dialogue impact of the world of education and the arena of this research? Fuchs (2009) cited Marcuse as influential on his analysis of the internet and society

> *"because he conceived media and culture simultaneously as ideological and as potentially liberating."* (Fuchs 2009 p85)

Fuchs argued that this certainly applied to the new communication channels that have opened up on the web in recent years. The internet actually reflects the struggles and antagonisms that exist in the world around it where information is both liberating and commoditized. For instance, when choosing a school for a child a parent now has access to an ever widening field of information with which to inform their choice. But much of this information is actually part of an ideological process that reinforces the dominant political values. League tables, Ofsted

reports, admissions criteria, examination results, and the like, are all a reflection of standards created and peddled by the dominant class. There are no league tables for equality, happiness, or how people turn out in the long term. The criteria for judging one school against another is presented to the public by government. However, this does not imply that there are no alternative forums on the web where people can voice their views on schools and policy. But the marketization of the web has allowed those with more power (technological, financial, and linguistic) to dominate the information forest.

A key question for this research was whether or not the media terrain, with its veneer of new horizons and increased avenues of personal expression, has actually made any real difference to the hegemonies in education. Kincheloe and Mclaren (p292) suggested:

> *"New structures of cultural space and time generated by bombarding electronic images from local, national, and international spaces shake our personal sense of place. This proliferation of signs and images functions as a mechanism of control in contemporary Western societies*."

This research project challenged the notion that these *"new structures*" have made any meaningful changes to the hegemonic relationships within education. Rather, they are a new "*mechanism of control"* that enhances the existing arsenal supporting and legitimising dominant societal values. As the historical analysis (section 2.1) suggested, beneath the skin of new fashions and technological innovations, the

historical inequalities within the education system have remained intact and are as persistent as ever. Inside a newer, flashier suit, the cancers of prejudice remain in the flesh.

This research looked into areas where the dominant forces legitimized certain policies without necessarily acknowledging other points of view, or made claims about practice that could not necessarily be backed up. Ability grouping is a good example. Although the notion that ability grouping is more advantageous for pupil-progress than mixed-ability teaching has often been challenged (Boaler 2005, 1997; Sukhnandan and Lee 1998; Green 2003; Hallam *et al* 2002; Ireson and Hallam 1999; Kerckhoff 1986) the 1997 White Paper *Excellence in Schools* stated categorically that

> *"We make a presumption that setting should be the norm in secondary schools."* (HMSO 1997)

This endorsed a well-publicized statement by Prime Minister Tony Blair a year previously insisting that ability grouping in secondary schools was the way forward. And yet, even at the time (Sukhnandan and Lee 1998) it was suggested that such a policy discriminated against low ability and low socio-economic background students. Indeed it was seen by some as a cynical, politically motivated, ploy to encourage middle class segregation (Boaler *et al* 2000).

In this example we see the use of cultural power (through speeches reported in the newspapers and highlighted through sound bites and

spin on the television) aligned with government instruments of legitimization (Ofsted, White Papers etc.) to promote political, power-driven ends. New Labour, needing middle-class support in order to sustain itself, dominated the middle classes by offering them advantages while simultaneously convincing them that what they were being offered was for the general good rather than at the expense of lower socio-economic groups. It is true that since 1996 a debate on ability grouping has continued among academics and in online communities. But in reality, it is difficult for these voices to be heard and more importantly, to be influential, in the face of the cultural domination of the mainstream media outlets.

Part of the remit of this research, then, was to question certain premises that, when you read the literature and policies from individual organisations (schools, councils, government), seem to have become taken for granted. Examples include the idea that there is gender equality in schools, that all children have an equal chance to succeed, that schools do not discriminate on the grounds of race or socio-economic background. Ten years ago, with the launch of *Every Child Matters,* the government boldly stated

> *"we must be ambitious for all children, whoever they are and wherever they live."* (HMSO 2003 p3)

The extract below from a school prospectus is one that is typical of the sentiments portrayed in the publicity of most schools:

> *"We strive to: meet individual student needs through a broad, balanced, relevant, and differentiated curriculum; promote equal opportunities for all irrespective of gender, race, physical disability, social circumstance, or special educational needs; enable all students to reach their potential by setting targets for themselves…."* (Caludon Castle School 2013)

Schools up and down the country make these claims in their literature, open days, and in the media. But are they true? Does data from students and practitioners verify these claims?

Kincheloe and Mclaren (p290) were clear that power is crucial to making such challenges. They pointed to

> *"a consensus…emerging among criticalists that power is a basic constituent of human existence*"

That change (for better or for worse) is governed by power. The key, then, is how that power is unlocked. As Kincheloe and Mclaren pointed out: *"we are all empowered and we are all unempowered"* (p290). They cited Gramsci's notion of hegemony in which dominant ideas unempower the dominated by extracting a tacit consent that legitimises the use of power. Kincheloe and Mclaren noted the importance of *"linguistic/discursive power"* (p291) at play here. They particularly emphasised the distribution of authority. Who is encouraged to speak? Who is expected to listen? What values is it acceptable to express? What should not be discussed? This is poignantly illustrated by bell hooks (1994 p178) in her account of her early days at Stanford. She

talked of a *“tacit understanding”* that students from materially poor backgrounds would not challenge the accepted values endorsed by the privileged. It was something that

“was taught by example and reinforced by a system of rewards.”

How the accepted values were imposed was, she suggested, a taboo topic. This researcher has a clear stance: it should not be a taboo topic.

The aim of this research, then, was to highlight the existence and location of inequality based on the dominance of an imposed set of values by using data supplied only by the perceptions of practitioners and students themselves. By highlighting inequality in this way it is hoped that it will persuade practitioners to find the courage to challenge the status quo, and the courage to empower themselves to evaluate and change their practice, as well as encouraging those disadvantaged by current practices to confront and question the offer they are given.

3.2 Research Design

This section begins by looking at the contextual factors that influenced the design (including previous research, and the researcher's position). It will then discuss the research design itself, looking at the overarching aims and timeline of the research.

3.21 The Emergence of the Quantitative Case Study design

This research was a single school case study based on quantitative data and approaches. It was built on previous research carried out by the same researcher in the same school (where the researcher was employed as a teacher) and took the form of a longitudinal study following a group of year 7 students in their first secondary school year.

.

The previous research projects could be considered as pilot phases for this study. Griffiths (2009) explored the causes of fixed-term and permanent exclusions of pupils with Special Educational Needs (SEN). It used secondary data on motivation and exclusions, and qualitative data gathered through semi-structured interviews. It was found that, as expected, SEN students were more vulnerable to exclusion than other

students. The main factors that created this vulnerability were difficulties in engaging with and understanding lessons, difficulties in maintaining good relationships with staff, and peer-to-peer conflict. The researcher felt that being in lower sets for many subjects did not help SEN students with these difficulties and that this should by explored in the next phase of research. Griffiths (2010) was a cross-sectional study of year 8 and 9 students. This used secondary data on all the students in years 8 and 9 for motivation, exclusion, FSM, SEN, and set position, to establish a link between set position, anti-school attitudes, and economic capital. These links were explored through qualitative data collected via interviews with students. The research established that students in lower sets were less motivated than other students. However, it also suggested that economic, social, and cultural capitals might also have been involved in anti-school attitudes. Issues of identity and peer pressure were also highlighted as affecting attitudes to school. This led the researcher to embark upon the present study.

The previous phases of research suggested the following:

- The development of anti-school attitudes, and the associated risk of exclusion, was more apparent in boys than in girls
- The use of FSM data alone was not an adequate measure of socio-economic disadvantage

- That data on attitude to school needed to be broader than simply motivation grades (teacher awarded) and exclusion statistics
- That student capital may be linked with the development of anti-school attitudes, and that academic self-concept seemed low in lower set students
- That a longitudinal, rather than cross-sectional study may help to throw light on causal and/or developmental factors in the development of attitude to school

As a result of these findings this research:

- Put in place a longitudinal study following a cohort of new secondary school students
- Created measures for, and collected data on, the cultural, social, economic, and familial capital of students
- Used FSM data only as part of an economic capital profile
- Created a broader measures of anti-school attitude including motivation, classroom referrals, detentions, student self-assessment, information from pastoral practitioners

- Differentiated between student self-reported attitudes to school and practitioner perceived student attitudes to school
- Created a measure for academic self-concept

When reflecting on the previous research it became clear that what had begun as an investigation into a single group (SEN students) was now presenting a much broader range of questions and possibilities. In order to fully understand the complexities of student attitudes and practitioner perceptions a wide-ranging research design was needed. The previous research had produced some very thought-provoking qualitative data. Nevertheless, as the research design progressed it became clear that a quantitative case study approach would be the most effective way to dig more deeply into the perceptions and experiences of different groups of students. Two themes suggested this course: one practical and the other political.

The practical considerations revolved around data and inclusion. The ‘case’ of this case study consisted of an entire cohort of students, their teachers, and their pastoral managers. Given that sixteen separate student grouping categories (with 45 discrete groups) were to be compared and analysed, it would have been difficult to generate enough qualitative data to ensure that each group was fairly and adequately represented. But a quantitative approach offered a large array of data

and allowed each group to be equally represented. Firstly, a large amount of secondary data (including motivation grades, behaviour referral logs, and detention statistics) was made available by the school. Secondly, as a participant observer I was able to administer three student and two practitioner questionnaires with a response rate not far off 100%. It quickly became apparent that the amount and quality of the quantitative data would provide a colourful insight into the relationships between different groups of students, their school, and their practitioners.

Previous single school case studies (Jackson and Marsden 1962; Hargreaves 1967; Lacey 1970; Willis 1970; Ball 1981; Abraham 1989) have tended to use a mixed-methods approach, including interviews, observations, or focus groups, as well as quantitative data. But in the last twenty years – in what might be termed the digital age – there has been a sea change in society's relationship with data. And this, in the broadest sense, has had an impact on the politics and governance of the public sector generally, and particularly our education system.

While the 1988 Education Reform Act may be seen as a watershed for schools in terms of curriculum, it should also be noted that the technological changes taking place at the time, and rolled out in the 1990s, changed the nature of school leadership and practitioner accountability. The development of personal computers, particularly *Microsoft Windows* based PCs, meant that teachers and administrators

could be given the tools to collect and store an increasing range of data that previously would have been considered impractical. And the development of commercially viable networking that followed meant that these data could be shared, diagnosed, and discussed. Politicians, policy makers, auditors, managers, and school leaders lost no time in equipping the rank and file with the latest technology and demanding a plethora of information from them. By the end of the twentieth century the data revolution had gripped public services in the UK.

Today schools are data-driven and increasingly if research is to be taken seriously by practitioners, and more crucially policy-makers and managers, it needs to be able to demonstrate robust quantitative outcomes. Kircup *et al* (2005), in a DfE commissioned report, described how the use of quantitative data underpins resources management, teacher performance, quality assurance, school inspections, and last but not least, pupil progress and achievement. By adopting a quantitative approach this research gave voice to all practitioners and students. No group was excluded. The power and credibility of the data collected in this study is governed by the fact that it all came from stake-holding participants: students and practitioners. Unlike, for example, an Ofsted Report, it was not based on the observations of external agents. The conclusions drawn, whether palatable or unpalatable, were directly linked to the judgments and perceptions of the participants and therefore they were owned by, rather than imposed upon, the participants.

Nevertheless, it could be suggested that using an entirely quantitative approach could result in a lack of subtle interpretations. However, subtle interpretations are not restricted to the research itself. They are also within the discussion on practice that it generates. As Kircup *et al* reported, teachers

> *"suggest that data only becomes effective if it stimulates questions, discussion and action."* (Kircup *et al* 2005 p156).

Certainly, this research will stimulate such discussion. It will ask practitioners to question their notions of equality and in particular it will ask them to question their sub-conscious judgements and perceptions, encouraging them to raise them to conscious consideration. The nature of the data is key to this process. It is not a case study based on the views of a few, purposively selected, individuals. No individual view has been identified. And by using quantitative methods, the views of all members in each of the groups discussed have been given equal weighting. The data is collective and inclusive, producing community-based outcomes to help individuals reflect upon, and improve, their practice.

This idea of inclusivity and ownership is particularly important. As Ball (2003a) has noted, the relationship between rank and file practitioners and the data revolution has been characterised by conflict. Teachers have felt that their altruistic principles are under attack. In the age of the marketplace they are:

> *"…. encouraged to think about themselves as individuals who calculate about themselves, 'add value' to themselves, improve their productivity, strive for excellence and live an existence of calculation"* (Ball 2003a p217)

This process, where *"value replaces values"* (Ball 2003a p217), has been at the heart of the performativity agenda, with the domination of quantitative outcomes (exam results, SATs scores, etc.) seen as stifling practitioners' creativity and humanity (Turner-Bisset 2007; Robinson 2006). A key motivation for using quantitative data in this research was to reinstate altruism into the performativity agenda. To show that quantitative data can inform our practice in terms of values, relationships, and equalities, and at the same time provide the robust outcomes that Kircup et al (2005) sees as a prerequisite in persuading managers and politicians to drive change. In the education marketplace the dominance of quantitative data is unlikely to lose its place. A challenge for teachers is to colonise the quantitative landscape with the values and practices they hold as important.

Another factor contributing to the decision to adopt a quantitative approach was the researcher's position as a participant researcher. The researcher was employed by the school and as a full-time teacher for two years prior to the start of this of research. The previous research projects (Griffiths 2009, Griffiths 2010) were conducted during those two years. The researcher was not a participant-observer of his own practice, but rather a participant in the sense of observing the

organization of which he was a member and in which he personally and professionally invested.

There are both advantages and disadvantages to being a participant-observer. These are detailed, sometimes hilariously, by Hargreaves (1967 Appendix 1) who spent a year as a participant-observer in a secondary school. It is true that, forty-five years on, many of the protocols and actions Hargreaves describes are barely recognizable in today's world. But many of the conflicts for a participant-observer remain unchanged, particularly those concerned with relationships and status, and ethical issues concerning prior knowledge, hearsay, and the boundaries between admissible and non-admissible comment. Certainly, the decision to follow a quantitative research design has circumvented many of these issues.

Although the previous research yielded interesting and thought-provoking qualitative data, the sources of that data revolved around the prior knowledge and location of the researcher. The interview data tended to be dependent on the relationships built up between the researcher and selected individuals, particularly those with whom the researcher had worked in the Inclusion Unit. Questions of bias, albeit unconscious bias, were raised. Firstly, could I be sure that I was able to disregard my prior perceptions of students who I knew well and, in some cases, worked with on a daily basis? Secondly, could I be sure that the students who provided data were representative of the student

body as a whole? And thirdly, were the responses of the students influenced by their relationship with me? The answer to all of these questions was inconclusive. However, the adoption of a quantitative approach enabled the first two questions to be circumvented and the issues raised by the third question to be minimised. Certainly, it must be acknowledged that it was possible that some students, when filling out the questionnaires, could have been both negatively (in terms of not responding or amending a response) or positively (in terms of being more honest because they trusted the researcher) influenced by their relationship with the researcher. However, two factors minimised this bias. Firstly, the questionnaires were filled out in a classroom situation with a whole class of students at a time, and not on a one-to-one basis (except in a very small number of cases when students had been absent from school). Other than help with reading when requested there was little direct interaction between the researcher and the respondents as the questionnaire were filled in. And, unlike in an interview, although instructions were given, there was no discussion or dialogue on the responses between the researcher and the students. And so given that, as indicated above, other considerations were already highlighting the appropriateness of a quantitative design, a decision was taken to adopt such an approach.

3.22 The Aim of the Study and Data Sources

The overall aim of this research was to examine students' self-reported attitudes to school and practitioners' perceptions of students' attitudes to school, and how these differed for various student groups. These attitudes were examined at two time points (after the students first few weeks in school, and at the end of their first full year) in order to see if there were changes in attitudes and perceptions over time. The data came from four sources. Firstly, secondary data on student characteristics, student behaviour, teacher-perceived motivation, and ability group placements were provided by the data manager of the school. Secondly, students completed three detailed questionnaires covering attitudes to school at both time points, and cultural and socio-economic capital. Thirdly, there were two practitioner questionnaires (one for the pastoral managers and another for form tutors) on their perceptions of student's attitudes. And finally, locality ratings were carried out by the researcher on students' places of residence.

The data collection timetable is shown in Table 3.21.

Table 3.21 Data collection Table

Date	Data	Source
Oct 2010	Initial Attitude to School/Academic Self concept	Questionnaire 1
Oct 2010	Gender/ethnicity/FSM/SEN/EAL status	School data manager
Oct 2010	Initial teacher-awarded motivation grades	School data manager
May 2011	Locality Rating	School data manager/ researcher
July 2011	Pastoral managers' assessment on students	Questionnaire 4
July 2011	Form tutors on conformity to ethos	Questionnaire 5
July 2011	Summer teacher-awarded motivation grades	School data manager
July 2011	Set positions (Ability Groups)	School data manager
July 2011	Cultural, Familial, Economic Capitals	Questionnaire 2
Sept 2011	2010/11 classroom referrals, detentions, and attendance data	School data manager
Sept 2011	Follow-up Attitude to School/Academic Self concept	Questionnaire 3

3.3 School Context and Sampling

3.31 The School and its Locality

The school in this study was a West Midlands Academy launched in new buildings in 2008. However, it took over the site and students of a predecessor school which had served the area for many years. Many students had parents, and in some cases grandparents, who had attended the predecessor school. The school was a non-selective comprehensive with just over 800 students (including over 100 sixth formers). The school was expanding, with larger cohorts in the lower years. The predecessor school was a non-religious community school. However, the Academy sponsor was an evangelical Christian and all parents wanting to transfer to the new Academy had to sign a contract agreeing to an education with a Christian ethos. It should be noted that although parents generally complied with this request, for many it was considered a formality and the profile of families using the school did not noticeably changed.

The school was inspected by Ofsted in autumn 2011 and was judged to be a good school. The Ofsted summary concluded:

> *"This is a good academy. From the time ******* Academy first opened its doors there has been a continual, and successful, focus on its core vision which is to develop well educated, considerate and caring citizens with a strong sense of values who*

will succeed and contribute to the society they live in." (Ofsted Report 2011)

The report also commented on the nature of the school:

The proportion of pupils eligible for free school meals is much higher than the national average. Most pupils are White British and the proportion of pupils from minority ethnic groups is lower than the national average. The proportion of pupils identified as having special educational needs and/or disabilities fell in 2010, but was still higher than the national average. (Ofsted Report 2011)

The school has been variously described as located in a deprived, disadvantaged, or challenging area. But, as discussed in Keys *et al* (2003) there is no simple or universal definition of what is meant by disadvantage (in a school context), but rather, it is a multi-facetted reflection of the economic and social challenges facing the areas from which pupils are drawn. Glib talk of schools in disadvantaged areas is imprecise, implying that all disadvantage is the same. But this is to deny that individual areas have distinct characteristics. Just as the advantage in Georgian Bath is different from that in equine Newmarket, the characterisation of disadvantage differs between our poorer communities.

Table 3.31 used data from the 2010 indices of deprivation (DCLG 2010) to explore the character and extent of the disadvantage present in the community around the school. It took the ten Lower Super Output Area

(LSOAs) from which the majority of the students were drawn and showed their percentage ranking for seven indicators in relation to the 32,482 LSOAs that make up England. A lower percentage ranking equated with a higher level of deprivation. The IMD ranking, combining all the discrete indices, showed all ten LSOAs having above average deprivation. However, it was also clear that there were considerable differences between the ten areas. LSOA G, for instance, could be fairly described as averagely affluent, while seven of the ten LSOAs were among the most deprived 10% in the country. Area F stands out from the other areas served by the school because of very high levels of deprivation in all the indices. It was one of the 40 most deprived LSOAs nationally.

The Income deprivation indices indicate that financial poverty was a big problem with seven out of the ten LSOAs in the lowest 10% for both income deprivation and income deprivation affecting children. And all LOSAs were in the bottom half of the rankings for both income indices. The income index used the number of households claiming income support, jobseekers allowance, pension credits, and tax credits, as well asylum seeker/refugee support, to rate family income. And the fact that there are similar outcomes for income and income affecting children, tells us that most of the low income households contained children aged 0-15. In other words, the income deprivation around the school was impacting on students attending the school.

The Education, Skills, and Training (EST) index for young people, again, put seven of the ten LSOAs in the bottom 10% nationally. This index used achievement levels at the end key stages 2, 3, and 4, school absence levels, and the numbers of young people not in post-16 or higher education. It is worth noting that the three LSOAs not in the bottom 10% (A, E, and G) were the same ones not in the bottom 10% for income deprivation, and they also had the highest three rankings for employment. Areas A and G also had lower crime rates than the other areas, although all areas had considerably higher crime than the national average. Interestingly, housing deprivation was less marked than other indicators, perhaps reflecting the fact that there has been some regeneration of social housing stock in the area. But, as the other indicators show, although the quality of the housing (still well below the national average) had improved, the level of disadvantage within those improved houses was still extremely high.

Table 3.31 English Indices of Deprivation 2010: LSOAs served by the school

LSOA	IMD % rank	Income % rank	IDAC* % Rank	Crime % Rank	Youth EST** % Rank	Employ-ment % Rank	Housing % Rank
A	34.5%	29.8%	39.7%	28.8%	38.9%	39.4%	27.7%
B	1.3%	0.7%	0.9%	10.8%	0.1%	2.7%	17.5%
C	2.8%	2.2%	2.6%	4.4%	5.3%	3.2%	40.7%
D	6.5%	3.9%	5.3%	12.3%	10.0%	6.5%	43.0%
E	23.1%	22.7%	19.7%	12.4%	17.2%	31.2%	9.5%
F	0.1%	0.1%	0.4%	0.1%	0.3%	1.2%	6.6%
G	48.0%	48.6%	47.7%	33.4%	42.1%	53.2%	46.1%
H	6.8%	6.4%	4.4%	2.7%	2.8%	11.0%	27.3%
I	0.6%	2.3%	5.5%	6.3%	5.4%	0.5%	34.5%
J	5.8%	3.2%	1.0%	14.0%	1.6%	7.6%	16.6%
Mean	12.9%	12.0%	12.7%	12.5%	12.5%	15.7%	26.9%

*Income deprivation affecting children **Education, Skills, and Training affecting Young People

The youth EST figures are reflected in the 2011 Ofsted Inspection Report which noted that:

> *Attainment in English and mathematics remains below average….Although students were keen to complete tasks they did not always have the skills to tackle work independently. As a result, students often needed a high level of direction to complete tasks*. (Ofsted Report 2011)

It should also be noted that the two sixth form cohorts were barely half the size of the feeder KS4 cohorts, suggesting that many students did not continue an academic education at post-16, but choose to move into employment, vocational training, or unemployment. And even those that did stay on often struggled:

> *The results achieved by students in the sixth form show that standards are low but given students' low starting points their progress is satisfactory.* (Ofsted Report 2011)

What emerged from the Ofsted Inspection Report was a picture of a well-run school with good standards of teaching in an area (as shown in the deprivation statistics) of high social and economic challenge.

3.32 Sampling

<u>The Students</u>

The cohort studied in the research entered the school in year 7 in September 2010 and was made up of 156 students (78 boys and 78 girls). Primary and secondary quantitative data about them was

collected from them over four terms from September 2010 until October 2011. **Table 3.32** gives a breakdown of the students on entry to the school. The number of FSM students (26.9%) was considerably higher than the national average (15.9%) at the time (DfE 2011a). Although slightly less marked, the number of students on the SEN register (27.6%) was also higher than the national average (21%) (DfE 2011b). The number of non-white pupils (23.7%) was higher than the national average (22.2%) for state secondary schools (DfE 2011a), reflecting the changing profile of the area. As the Ofsted report noted, overall, the school had a lower than average number of ethnic minority pupils. But the number of ethnic minority pupils was increasing with each new cohort. The number of EAL students (12.2%) was close to the national average of 12.3% (DfE 2011a).

As expected, there was a certain amount of student mobility during the course of the research. Out of the 156 students on role in September 2010, eleven were not on role the following September. Although their exact leaving dates were not made available, most of them were in school for at least two terms and some for the whole year. Students who entered the school after September 2010 were not included in the research.

Table 3.32 Breakdown of Year 7 cohort on entry

Category	Group	Number of Students	%
Gender	Male	78	50.0%
	Female	78	50.0%
FSM	Claimed	42	26.9%
	Not Claimed	114	73.1%
SEN	Yes	43	27.6%
	No	113	72.4%
Ethnicity a	White	119	76.3%
	Non-White	37	23.7%
Ethnicity b	White	119	76.3%
	Mixed-Heritage	12	7.7%
	Asian/Asian British	6	3.8%
	Black/Black British	17	10.9%
	other	2	1.3%
EAL	Yes	19	12.2%
	No	137	87.8%
N=156			

The Practitioners

At the time the research started there were 64 teachers at the school (a full-time equivalent of 60.9 teachers). Only two members of the teaching staff (the researcher and one other) lived in any of the LSOAs serving the school (see above). The remaining teachers lived in other areas of the city or travelled from other cities or areas, in some cases more than twenty-five miles from the school. There were 30 teaching assistants/learning mentors and 24 support services staff, many of whom lived locally. The data from teachers could not be attributed to a specific practitioner. Motivation grades recorded the subject but not the awarding teacher, while detention logs and classroom behaviour referrals were not subject specific. However, with the exception of the head teacher, some members of the leadership team, and the head of sixth form, almost all of the teaching staff would have contributed to the motivation grades and/or the form tutor assessments of conformity to ethos. And some of the recorded detentions would almost certainly have been given by the head teacher or the leadership team.

The students were put into one of five colleges (houses) each of which was led by a pastoral manager. The pastoral managers were responsible for looking after the pastoral needs of students in their college, and they were main link between school and home. Where there were academic concerns they often acted as a buffer between the

teaching staff and the family, and they were able to provide an overview of a student's academic performance. Pastoral mangers were chosen to provide data because they knew students' social strengths and difficulties better than any other members of staff. Their role was to manage students' pastoral needs and, where necessary, disciplinary sanctions. All five pastoral managers lived within the city, and two lived in the LSOAs detailed above. All had been in post for at least a year when the research began. Two of the pastoral managers had worked in the predecessor school for a number of years. Three out of the five pastoral managers were graduates, and all had several years of experience working with young people, although none had qualified teacher status (QTS). The pastoral managers provided the data collected in questionnaire 4 (see above).

3.4 Data Collection Methods

3.41 Student Questionnaires

When using questionnaires to gather data it is important to understand their limitations. As De Vaus (1996 p80) pointed out, the questionnaire is a

> *"highly structured data collection technique….a very efficient way of creating a variable by case matrix for large samples"*.

But the structure and efficiency that make it useful are also its limiting force, and if the aims and clarity of the questionnaire lack focus, this will be reflected in the data. Furthermore, some commentators have been rightly concerned about the overuse of questionnaires with students. As Durrant and Holden (2006 p93) suggested,

> *"they are used with disturbing frequency….the default option for school based enquiry."*

Given these caveats, it is important to justify why this study employed questionnaires as the principal primary data collection vehicle. Three things were central to this: the changing nature of how schools generate and interact with quantitative data (see section 3.22), the decisions taken on the nature and locations of the voices recorded (see section 3.22), and the fact that the researcher was able to utilise lesson time for students to complete the questionnaires. This last point made it possible

to achieve a near 100% participation rate, with students absent on the day able to complete questionnaires privately on their return. As a result, there was a 100% response rate for questionnaire 1, and just one student declined to fill out questionnaires 2 and 3.

The availability of lesson time also enabled the effective use of longer, more detailed, questionnaires than would have been possible in a different scenario. This was partly due to flexibility. Although between 20 and 30 minutes had been set aside for completion, the researcher had the option of using more of the lesson if necessary. (However, this was only used in a small number of cases). Because time constraints were relaxed, the researcher was able to explain to student the aims of the research and the importance of their contribution. The students were encouraged to see themselves as partners in the research process. Before questionnaires were administered there was a question and answer session which included information on how the data would be used and how it would be kept confidential.

Robson (2002) highlighted that fact that a lack of consistency in administration and completion can undermine the integrity of questionnaires. But this was circumvented as each session was managed and introduced by the researcher. Each group filled out the questionnaires in the same way and with the same instructions. It was stressed that the questionnaire was not a test of reading or writing ability and, where necessary, adult support (from the researcher and, in

some cases, teaching assistants or PGCE students) was provided. Another minimised risk was that of missing data (Bryman 2008). The researcher was able to check the questionnaires for missing responses as they were collected, double check with the student that the missing data were those that the student did not wish to give, and invite students to respond to any sections they had inadvertently skipped. In most cases, although not all, students were happy to fill in the gaps. As a result, missing responses were kept to a minimum.

When planning this research, then, it became clear that questionnaires would allow the study to collect a large amount of detailed data whose validity was enhanced by a very high response rate and a small amount of missing data. That being said, even in ideal conditions the construction of a questionnaire remains vital to its success. As Altrichter *et al* (2008 p139) pointed out:

> *"the usefulness of a questionnaire depends principally on the quality of the questions."*

Useful advice used in preparing the questionnaires was found in Robson (2002), Cohen *et al* (2007), Hartas (2010), and Denscombe (2007). A common theme was the advantage of simplicity. Simple, easy-to-read, unambiguous questions are important. If a student does not understand a question, as likely as not, they will move on without answering, or (perhaps worse) answer a different question to the one intended. To this end, most of the questions used were Multiple Choice or Likert Scale variants using a 5 point scale in order to facilitate

analysis. Where this was not the case, a single or listed response (rather than a descriptive response) was required. For instance:

> *"What TV programmes have you watched lately? Name as many as you can."*

In some instances, however, answers to questions were converted into a 5 point scale, used a different scale, or were recoded.

Inevitably with students aged 11 – 13 there will be a temptation to put down silly or incorrect answers. The researcher discussed this briefly with students beforehand, stressing that their real views were highly valued. Previous experience has shown that this approach works well in persuading students to take questionnaires seriously. Students were asked avoid talking to each other while doing the questionnaires, and asked not to look at the answers of other students. It was explained that this was not to do with class discipline, but because their answers should represent their own views and be not influenced by their classmates.

3.411 Attitudinal Questionnaires

<u>Questionnaire 1: Initial Attitudinal Questionnaire</u>

This Initial Attitudinal Questionnaire provided an assessment of students' self-reported attitudes to school after six weeks in their

secondary school. The data were collected from all new Year 7 students (156 students). The questionnaires were administered in week six because this gave students time to gain a taste of their new school, but they were still in mixed-ability classes. After this time they were put into ability groups for some subjects. The researcher considered the possibility of administering the questionnaire earlier (perhaps in the first two or three weeks) but decided against this. The very first weeks would not have given a fair reflection of students' attitudes because many students would still be over-awed by the transition from primary to secondary school. At week six the students were still 'new' but had been given enough time to settle down, build initial relationships with teachers, and make initial assessments of the school.

The Initial Attitudinal Questionnaire also coincided with the window given to teachers for awarding initial teacher-perceived motivation grades, allowing a direct comparison of teachers' and students' perceptions of student attitudes to school. Secondary data on student characteristics were also collected at this time as by this point any initial inaccuracies in terms of ethnicity/FSM/EAL data had been rectified, and SEN assessments had been carried out.

Cohen *et al* (2007 p318) gave an 8 stage sequence for planning questionnaires. The first stage had cogent simplicity:

> *"Decide the purpose/objectives of the questionnaire".*

Obvious as this may seem, it is too often ignored. The purposes of the Initial Attitude Questionnaire were:

- To get an overview of individual and collective student attitudes to primary school
- To get an overview of individual and collective student attitudes to their new teachers, lessons, and school
- To get an idea of students' academic self-concept
- To provide base line attitudinal data to be used in conjunction with the Follow Up Attitudinal Questionnaire

The objective was to provide a snapshot of the students' attitudes to, and opinions of school, lessons, teachers, and their academic self-identity.

Hartas (2010) identified four types of questions: knowledge, attitudes, behaviour, and attributes questions. None of the questions in this questionnaire were knowledge based. Most concerned attitudes or behaviour. All the questions were closed. Closed questions were chosen for two reasons. Firstly they were simple to read and simple to answer, aiding the accuracy of students' understanding. Secondly, they provided data that was readily numerically imaged and analysed. All the questions used a 5 point scale with 5 being the most positive answer and 1 the least positive. The responses were not numbered in the questionnaire. For example:

<u>Question (as analysed)</u>

How much did you learn in your primary school?

5. loads 4. quite a lot 3. some 2. not much 1. nothing

Question (as it appeared in questionnaire)

How much did you learn in your primary school?

loads quite a lot some not much nothing

Students were asked to circle one answer only in Likert-style questions, and to tick a single choice in Multiple Choice questions. The ranking numbers were omitted because the researcher wanted the respondents to think about the statements. If numbers were present it was possible that after a few questions, students would stop reading the statements and simply mark each question out of 5.

The questionnaire had 3 sections: "*Your Primary School"* (6 questions); *"How good do you think you are in the following subjects?"* (11 questions); and "*About your New School"* (14 questions). A full list of the questions from the questionnaire can be found in Appendix 1.

"*Your Primary School"* aimed to discover students' general view of their primary school including their relationships with teachers, attitudes to learning, and relationships with their peers. *"How good do you think you are in the following subjects?"* gave a rating of the students' initial academic self-concept in eleven subjects. Modern Foreign Languages was not included as the subject was taught on a carousel basis over the year. At the time of the questionnaire students may have studied one of French, Spanish, or Japanese, and they may have had differing

amounts of lesson time, therefore this subject was considered too inconsistent to rate. The subjects included in the list were: Maths, English, Science, PE, Humanities, ICT/Business, RE/Values, Technology, Music, Art, and Drama. "*About your New School"* looked at students' general rating of the school, as well as focusing on attitudes and opinions about teachers, attitudes to behaviour in lessons, and conformity and engagement.

Post Year 7 Attitudinal Questionnaire (questionnaire 3)

This follow up Attitudinal Questionnaire was originally scheduled for July 2011, but due to timetabling clashes and various school events, it was not administered until September 2011. This questionnaire repeated the questions from the Initial Attitude Questionnaire on attitude to teachers and lessons, and on academic self-concept, to discover how students' attitudes had changed one year on from Questionnaire 1. The questions on attitude to primary school were replaced with the following questions about ability grouping:

Is your set for Maths:

too low / too high / about right

Is your set for English:

too low / too high / about right

Are you happy with the sets you are in?

yes / no / they are OK / don't care

A full list of the questions from the questionnaire can be found in Appendix 1.

3.412 The Student Capital Questionnaire (questionnaire 2)

Questionnaire 2 was the most complex of the questionnaires. It was also the most sensitive for respondents, asking for some quite personal information. The data from questionnaire 2 was used in the factor analyses to create economic and cultural capital profiles. Also, some information (parental occupation; parental residence; parental contact) was used to create discrete independent variables. A full list of the questions from the questionnaire can be found in Appendix 1.

Cultural Capital

As the literature review clarified, it was decided that a wide-ranging, rather than beaux arts based, concept of cultural capital would be used. This provided suitable data for an exploratory factor analysis to investigate which areas of cultural capital would usefully differentiate students in the study.

Socio-Economic Capital Data

Hobbs and Vignoles (2010) excellently exposed the deficiencies of using FSM status as a sole proxy for family income and it was considered necessary to capture a wider range of data to assess student's familial economic capital. FSM status also has the disadvantage of being dichotomous and, therefore, of limited comparative value. In order to create an effective assessment of students' economic capital it was decided that several variables would be used to form an economic capital profile. The parts of that profile collected in the capital questionnaire were: parental occupation, family holidays and outings, car ownership, family size, and quality of housing. Questions on parental residence and parental contact were also included. Details of the questions and how the responses were rated are contained in Appendix 1.

3.42 Practitioner Questionnaires

3.421 Pastoral Practitioners Questionnaire (Questionnaire 4)

This questionnaire was administered at the end of the students' first academic year in school (July 2011). It assessed the pastoral managers' views of students' relationships with staff, relationships with peers, social competence around the school, involvement in bullying, and general attitude to school. The questions were asked verbally by the researcher who marked the scored response into a grid. The first eight questions covered social competence and interaction. The final

question was a general question on the students' attitude to school. The questions were carefully explained to the respondents before the data collection began. The ratings all used a five-point scale, with 5 being the most positive response. The questions were:

1. Is the student popular with other students?

2. How well does the student relate to staff?

3. Does the student have many arguments/problems with their peers?

4. Would you describe the students as a leader or a follower?

5. Is the student socially confident?

6. Is the student considered tough/hard by other students?

7. Does the student get bullied?

8. Does the student bully other students?

9. How positive/negative is the student's general attitude to school?

3.422 Form Tutor Questionnaire

Each student had a form tutor who was a member of the teaching staff. There were forty-one tutor groups in the school, and each group contained between three and five students from the cohort being studied (the tutor groups were mixed-age groups). Tutors were responsible for the day-to-day pastoral care and academic monitoring of their students. Each tutor was asked to rate their students by answering the following question:

*"How much does [the student's] behaviour and performance in school conform to the ethos and values of ******** Academy?"*

The ratings were:

5: completely/almost completely

4: most of the time

3: quite often

2: not that often

1: rarely/never

Tutors gave their responses verbally to the researcher who put the ratings into a grid.

3.43 Secondary Data from the School

Teacher-Perceived Motivation Grades

The data on teachers' perceptions of student motivation consisted of 4738 individual motivation grades awarded to 156 year 7 students either near the beginning or near the end of the academic year 2010/2011. At both of these grade points each student was awarded a motivation grade of 1 to 6 by the 12 teachers who taught them for the following subjects: English, Maths, Science, Art, Drama, Music, Modern Foreign Languages, Humanities, ICT/Business, Physical Education, Religious Education/Values, and Technology.

Ability Group Placements for Maths and English

The ability grouping data shows the sets each student was placed in during their second half-term in school for Maths and English. This data was not made available until July 2011 and includes only the students on the school role at that time (145 of the original 156 students). There were three ability groups for Maths and four ability groups for English

Gender, Ethnicity, SEN, EAL, Ethnicity, Eligibility for Free School Meals (FSM)

Data on Gender, Ethnicity, SEN, EAL, Birth Month, Gifted and Talented students, and FSM status were supplied by the school data manager in October 2010. Data were given for all 156 students on the school role at that time and were current when supplied.

Data on ethnicity were coded into two levels. Ethnicity level a contained two categories: white students and non-white students. A small number of the white students were not British (for instance Polish; Irish traveller). However, the school database recorded these students as white (this has now been updated to record white/British, white/Polish etc., but was not available at the time). The researcher was aware of two white students of Irish traveller heritage, and two white/Polish students. For the purpose of this research, however, ethnicity level a focused on colour rather than nationality.

Ethnicity level b put students into one of five categories: White, Mixed-Heritage, Black/Black British, Asian/Asian British, other. It was recognised that the numbers in the non-white groups were small and, therefore, ethnicity level b, while sometimes used to report interesting indicators, was not considered to be reliable.

Classroom Behaviour Referrals and Detention logs

These were supplied by the school data manager in September 2011 and detailed the number of classroom behaviour referrals and the amount of time spent in detention for each student. This covered the period from 01/09/2010 to 31/07/2011.

3.44 Piloting

The student questionnaires were piloted with a top and bottom set of year 8 students before being used on the main cohort being studied. The following minor changes were made:

In the *Initial Attitudinal Questionnaire* there were two open questions at the end ("Why do you think you come to school?" and "What do other people in your family think about school?"). However, responses were inconsistent and many students left them blank. Some students commented that the last question was confusing as they were not sure whether it referred to the importance of school in general, or what their

family though about the school they attended. Students also reported back that after filling in the rest of the questionnaire they felt they had done enough. These questions, therefore, were not included in the final questionnaire.

The *Post Year 7 Attitudinal Questionnaire* contained the question “Are most of your friends in the same sets as you?” in the Ability Groups section. After piloting this question was not used as students reported confusing ability groups (sets) with classes. Where there were two classes for the same ability group students did not know what answer to put for friends in the same ability group but a different class.

The *Student Capital Questionnaire,* although longer than the other questionnaires, was generally reported by students as being clear to fill in. However, some students said that they found certain terms in the housing section difficult to understand, particularly the differences between maisonettes, terraced, semi-detached, and detached properties. Therefore, when these questionnaires were administered to the year seven groups these terms were carefully explained and supported with diagrams on the classroom whiteboards.

3.5 Measures

This section will detail all the measures and ratings that were used in this study, giving information on how the raw data were handled in order to make it useful and practical to analyse. Very large amounts of data were generated through the questionnaires and not all of this was used in the final analyses. Some data were used discretely as dependent or independent variables. Other data were used as part of factor analyses in order to create factor scores. Measures and ratings will be discussed under the following headings: students' characteristics and/or status, students' attitudes to school, capital measures, and students' confidence in the school environment. A full list of the variables which were considered when creating measures can be found in Appendix 2.

3.51 Students' Characteristics and/or Status

The following information was supplied by the school data manager and used to create dichotomous independent variables:
Gender, SEN status, EAL status, and FSM status

Data on ethnicity, also provided by the school data manager, were used to create two independent variables:
Ethnicity level a contained two categories: white students; non-white students.

Ethnicity level b put students into one of five categories: White; mixed-heritage; Black/Black British; Asian/Asian British; other.

3.52 Students' Attitudes to School

Measures for students' attitudes to school were drawn from two viewpoints: the students' own perceptions and the perceptions of practitioners. Measures for students' self-reported attitudes were generated from student questionnaires. Practitioner generated measures were based on teacher awarded motivation grades, detention and behaviour records, and practitioner questionnaires. In addition, attendance was used as a proxy measure for attitude to school.

3.521 Students' Self-reported Measures for Attitude to School

1. Factor Score Ratings

General Attitude to Primary School and *Initial Self-Reported Attitude to Teachers and Lessons*

These two factor score ratings were generating by a factor analysis using all the questions from the Initial Attitudinal Questionnaire other than those relating to academic self-concept. All variables (variables 10 – 29) had five possible responses which were scored 1 to 5, with 5 being the most positive in each case. One student was removed

because of too many missing values. Three variables (20, 24, 29) were removed because they had no correlations above 0.3 with any other variables, leaving 17 variables. There were no correlations above 0.8 and the determinant was over .00001. The KMO measure was .804, and Bartlett's test was significant (<.001). The communalities showed 16 variables > 0.5 and 10 > 0.6. Four factors were retained and the scree plot confirmed that this was plausible. Factors scores from factors 1 and 2 were kept for further analysis. The factors loadings are detailed in Table 3.51.

Table 3.51 Factor Content and Loadings for Initial Student Self-Reported Attitudinal Data

Factor	Factor Content	Loadings
Initial Self-Reported Attitude to Teachers and Lessons	Are the teachers fair?	.829 (.820)
	Are the teachers nice people?	.818 (.815)
	Would you say they are good teachers?	.764 (.799)
	How many of your lessons do you enjoy?	.544 (.676)
	Did the teachers in primary school like you?	.553 (.628)
	How much work do you in lessons?	.464 (.510)
	How do you behave in your lessons?	.419 (.583)
	What did you think of the teachers in your primary school?	.411 (.559)
Attitude to Primary School	What did you think of your Primary School	.825 (.803)
	How much did you learn in your Primary School?	.778 (.768)
	What did you think of the other children?	.718 (.734)
	What did you think of the teachers in your Primary School?	.593 (.675)
	Did you have many friends in Primary School	.500 (.524)
	Did the teachers like you?	.362 (.487)
N=155		

Post year 7 Attitude to Teachers and *Attitude to Lessons Factor Scores*

These two factor scores were generated by running a factor analysis using student ratings from the Post year 7 Attitudinal Questionnaire. One student was away for long-term medical reasons, and two students were temporarily absent for family reasons. Sixteen students had left the school before the post-year 7 data collection. One student declined to fill in the questionnaire. Initially 9 variables were selected (121 – 129). All variables had 5 responses, scored 1 to 5, with 5 being the most positive in each case. Variables 121 and 126 were removed because they had no correlations above 0.3 with any other variables, leaving 7 variables. There were no correlations above 0.8 and the determinant was over .00001. The KMO measure was .767, and Bartlett's test was significant (<.001). The communalities showed two variables below 0.5 and one below 0.6. The other five were above 0.6, with three above 0.7. Three factors were retained and the scree plot confirmed that this was plausible. Factors scores from factors 1 and 2 were kept for further analysis, and factor 3 was discarded. The factors used are detailed in Table 3.52

Table 3.52 Factor Content and Loadings for Student Self-Reported Attitudes Post year 7

Factor	Factor Content	Loadings
Self-Reported Attitude to Teachers Post year 7	Are the teachers good teachers? (yr 8)	.879 (.885)
	Are the teachers fair? (yr 8)	.846 (.818)
	Are the teachers nice people (yr 8)	.828 (.836)
	How do you rate this school (yr8)	.394 (.573)
Self-Reported Attitude to Lessons Post year 7	How do you behave in your lessons? (yr8)	.863 (.816)
	How much work do you do in lessons? (yr8)	.849 (.839)
	How many lessons do you enjoy? (yr8)	.593 (.640)
	How do you rate this school (yr8)	.405 (.579)
N=136		

2. Discrete Variables

Eight variables included in both the Initial Attitudinal Questionnaire and the Follow-up Attitudinal Questionnaire were used as ratings in their raw state. They were:

How do you behave in your lessons?

How do you rate this school?

Are the teachers nice people?

Would you say they are good teachers?

Are the teachers fair?

How much work do you do in your lessons?

How do other students behave in your lessons?

All questions had five response choices and score ranged from 5 (the most positive response) to 1 (the least positive response). Responses are detailed in Appendix 1.

Ability Group Ratings

In the Follow-up Attitudinal questionnaire students were asked:

Is your set for Maths:

too low / too high / about right

Is your set for English:

too low / too high / about right

Scoring for both answers was: about right 0, too low -1, too high +1

The two measures produced were:

Assessment of Maths set level

Assessment of English set level

Students were also asked:

Are you happy with the sets you are in?

Response: yes / no / they are OK / don't care

Scoring was: no – 1; they are OK or don't care – 2; yes – 3

This produced the rating: *Satisfaction with the sets you are in*

Independent Variable for Initial Attitude to School

The factor scores for *Initial Self-Reported Attitude to Teachers and Lessons* were used to split students into three roughly equally sized groups. Split points were used to create lowest (least positive), middle, and highest (most positive) groups.

3.522 Practitioner generated measures for Students' Attitude to School

1. Classroom-based ratings

Practitioner-Perceived Motivation Grades

The data on teacher's perceptions of student motivation consisted of 4738 individual motivation grades awarded to 156 year 7 students either near the beginning or near the end of the academic year 2010/2011. At both of these grade points each student was awarded a motivation grade by the 12 teachers who taught them for the following subjects:

English

Maths

Science

Art

Drama

Music

Modern Foreign Languages

Humanities

ICT/Business

Physical Education

Religious Education/Values

Technology

A grade of 1 – 6 was awarded (0 cannot be entered) with 6 being most motivated and 1 the least. Only integers could be awarded. It is possible for a mark to be missing. However, missing marks are very rare as the marks are checked by Heads of Faculty and the School Data Officer. Only 6 marks were missing. At each grade point the grade book was open for approximately 2 weeks for teachers to award grades. The grades used in this study were awarded in the following windows:

1. October 2010 (2nd and 3rd week)
2. July 2011 (2nd and 3rd week)

Although the grades used a six point scale, in practice grades 1 and 2 were rarely awarded. Table 3.531 indicates the frequency of awards for each point on the scale. The majority of grades awarded are 6 or 5, with grades 4 – 6 constituting over 94% of all grades awarded. Most students perceived to be working well would expect a grade of 5 or 6. The mean of the 4738 grades awarded was 5.198. A grade of 4 suggested a minor concern, a below average level of motivation that in isolation may simply reflect a distaste for a single subject. But if awarded several times would be seen as problematic. Grades 1 – 3 indicate a serious concern about student motivation.

A small number of students who left the school during the course of the year were also awarded a July motivation grade, as the data collection system required a final grade for all students who were awarded an initial grade. Out of the 156 students on role in September 2010, eleven were not on role the following September. Although their exact leaving dates were not made available, most of them were in school for at least two terms, and some for the whole year. For those students who left during the year, the grade represents their perceived motivation when they left the school.

Table 3.531 Distribution of Motivation Grades Awarded

Motivation Score	Number of Awards	Percentage of Awards
1	13	0.4%
2	39	1.0%
3	155	4.2%
4	574	15.4%
5	1169	31.3%
6	1788	47.8%
Total	3738	100.00%

Table 3.532 Distribution of Ability Groups

Maths Level	Classes	Students	Percent
1	2	56	38.6
2	2	52	35.9
3	2	37	25.5
Total	6	145	100.0
English level			
1	2	52	35.9
2	2	46	31.7
3	2	31	21.4
4	1	16	11.0
Total	7	145	100.0

Ability Group Placements for Maths and English

The ability grouping data shows the sets each student was placed in during their second half-term in school for Maths and English. This data was not made available until July 2011 and includes only the students on the school role at that time (145 of the original 156 students). There were three ability groups for Maths (top, middle, lower) with two parallel classes in each group. Generally the higher ability classes were larger than the lower ability classes. In English there were four ability groups. The top three groups were similar in structure to the Maths groups with two parallel classes for each level. However, there was an additional fourth (lowest) level with a single small class. The numbers in each group are shown in Table 3.532.

Students were scored according to their set number, with 1 being the highest ability group, and 3 (Maths) and 4 (English) being the lowest. Two measures were created for each student:

Maths set position

English set position.

All top sets/Others

Using a cross-tabulation analysis (see section 4.25 Table 4.4) a dichotomous measure put students in one of the following groups: all top sets / other students. For timetabling reasons most other setting arrangements in the school were dependent on Maths and English

groupings, therefore students in set 1 for both subjects were placed in the ‘all top sets’ group.

Classroom Behaviour Referrals

All classroom behaviour referrals by class teachers were recorded in a central log. Referrals had four levels:

C1: an initial formal warning

C2: a second warning/ten minute after school detention

C3: final warning/phone call home and detention

C4: removal from class/referral to Senior Management

A C1 was scored 1, a C2 was scored 2, etc.. This measure was created by adding together all of a student’s classroom referrals between 01/09/2010 and 31/07/2011. Although there was undoubtedly and element of inconsistency in the way these referrals were recorded, the management of the school was actively encouraging teaching staff to engage with the referral system, and training on its use was given to all teaching staff in September 2010. Nevertheless, some staff used the system more or less frequently than others, and the level of misbehaviour that constituted different levesl in the system was not always consistent. However, as each student had at least twelve different teachers, it was felt that these inconsistencies would generally affect each student in a similar way.

2. Wider-school Practitioner Ratings

Time spent in Detention

The Detention log recorded the time spent in detention by each student between 01/09/2010 and 31/07/2011. Each time a student was given any sort of after-school detention it was expected to be recorded in the detention log. This was certainly the case for any detention of more than 20 minutes, and all detentions given by the pastoral managers, department and faculty heads, and senior managers. However, many shorter after-school detentions given by teaching staff were not formally recorded. Nevertheless, this measure gave an indication of a student's behaviour in both the classroom and the wider context of the school. The measure was scored using the number of minutes a student was recorded as being in detention (e.g. three half-hour detentions would score 90).

Discrete Variables from the Pastoral Practitioner Questionnaire

There was some inconsistency between the respondents' ratings, with some being more generous than others in their interpretation of the ratings. To mediate this inconsistency a moderation process took place. The researcher used his own knowledge of the students, and also the knowledge of three colleagues on the teaching staff, to rate how generous the pastoral mangers had been in relation to each other. The responses were moderated and then recoded into a three-point scale. The respondents' ratings were recoded as shown in Table 3.541. It was felt that the advantages of consistency gained by recoding the

responses outweighed the disadvantage of reducing the number of points in the scale.

Table 3.541 Pastoral Practitioner Questionnaire Recoding

Respondents	original ratings	new ratings
1,3,4	1 and 2	1
	3	2
	4 and 5	3
2,5	1 and 2	1
	3 and 4	2
	5	3

Two discrete variables were used as ratings for each student:

How well does the student relate to staff? (scores: 3 *positively - 1 negatively*)

How positive/negative is the student's general attitude to school?

(scores: 3 *positive - 1 negative*)

Form Tutors Conformity to School Ethos Rating

Form tutors were asked to respond to a single question about individual members of their tutor group:

"*How much does the student's behaviour and performance in school conform to the ethos and values of ******** Academy?*"

Responses were scored as follows:

5: completely/almost completely

4: most of the time

3: quite often

2: not that often

1: rarely/never

3.Combined Pastoral and Classroom Practitioners Outcomes Factor Score

Factor Analysis 3 (Pastoral Practitioner and Teacher Perceptions at the end of year 7/start of year 8) generated the factor score for:

Combined Pastoral Practitioner and Classroom Teacher Outcomes

Initially 12 variables were selected (43 - 47, 49 - 52, 54, 59, 60). All variables had at least one correlation over 0.3 with other variables, so no variables were removed. There were no correlations above 0.8 and the determinant was over .00001. The KMO measure was .901, and Bartlett's test was significant (<.001). The communalities for all variables were over 0.5 with nine variables over 0.6, and five over 0.7. Two factors were retained and the scree plot confirmed that this was plausible. (The other factor score *Pastoral Practitioner Perceived Social Competence in School* is discussed below in Student Confidence section).

Table 3.542 Factor Content and Loadings for Pastoral Practitioner and Teacher Perceptions at the end of year 7/start of year 8

Factor	Factor Content	Loadings
Combined Pastoral Practitioner and Classroom Teacher Outcomes	Classroom Behaviour Referrals yr 7	-.902 (-.842)
	Motivation Raw Mean Score Summer 2011	.889 (.866)
	How does the student's behaviour and performance in school reflect the school ethos?	.806 (.842)
	How positive/negative is the student's attitude to school?	.772 (.821)
	Behaviour: Detentions	-.751 (-.691)
	How well does the student relate to staff?	.720 (.808)
	How often does the student bully other students?	.694 (.755)
	How often does the student have arguments/problems with peers?	.534 (.684)
Pastoral Practitioner Perceived Social Competence in School	How socially confident is the student?	.838 (.802)
	Would you describe the student as a leader or a follower?	.759 (.722)
	How popular is the student with other students?	.687 (.766)
	How often does the student get bullied?	.593 (.681)
	How often does the student have arguments/problems with peers?	.506 (.665)
N = 156		

3.523 Attendance

Attendance data was supplied by the school data manager as a percentage for each student. Two attendance registers were taken each school day (morning and afternoon). Each student's score represented their attendance percentage for their first full year in secondary school.

3.53 Student Capital Ratings

Student capital ratings covered two broad areas: socio-economic capital and cultural capital. These are discussed below.

3.531 Socio-Economic Ratings

1. The Economic Capital Factor score

Dependent Variable

Factor analysis 5 was used to create an economic capital factor score for each student. Initially 10 variables were selected: (4, 61, 72, 75, 76, 112, 114, 115, 116, 117). Nine students had left the school or were not able to complete questionnaire 2; one students declined to complete the questionnaire; one student was removed because of too much missing data. Therefore 145 profiles were created. Variables 72, 75, and 76, were removed because they had no correlations above 0.3 with any

other variables, leaving 7 variables. There were no correlations above 0.8 and the determinant was over .00001. The KMO measure was .813, and Bartlett's test was significant (<.001). The communalities showed four variables over 0.6, one variable over 0.5, and two under 0.5. Two factors were retained and the scree plot confirmed that this was plausible. However, only factor scores from factor 1 were kept for further analysis (for loadings see Table 3.561).

Table 3.561 Factor Content and Loadings for Economic Capital

Factor	Factor Content	Loadings
Economic Capital Profile	Local Area Assessment (researcher rating)	.817 (.758)
	Holidays and outings ratings	.791 (.761)
	Parental jobs: highest category in household	.650 (.753)
	Free School Meals Claimed	-.627 (-.664)
	Number Children in the home	-.356 (-.448)
	Family Car Ownership	.285 (.515)
N: 145		

The raw data for each factor was collected as follows:

The Local Area Assessment (researcher rating)

The locality assessment rated the street/area in which a student lived on a scale of 1 to 4 (with 1 being the least favourable, and 4 being the most favourable areas). The locality rating was based on local knowledge and observation. The streets/areas in which students lived were accessed from school records, although addresses were not permanently recorded. Local knowledge was based on the fact that the researcher lived with the catchment area of the school (and had been resident there for six years) and during that time he had built up a considerable understanding of the locality. The researcher's knowledge was supplemented by visiting each of the streets/areas where students lived and making notes on the criteria detailed below. Each area was visited twice; once in the daytime and once in the evening when it was dark. Where the researcher was unsure of a street/area, or if it was on the cusp of points on the scale, additional opinions were sought from sixth formers at the school who had been brought up in the area, and local residents who worked as support staff at the school. These additional opinions were particularly useful in rating the safety of an area and the ratio of privately owned and social housing. The locality assessment rated each area considering the following criteria:

- The quality and condition of the housing stock

- The cleanliness, tidiness, and attractiveness of the street/road, including the residences and the communal areas (roads, pavements, grass verges etc.)
- Safety and security (including traffic, proximity to shops/commercial premises, lighting; etc.)

It was recognised that sometimes two addresses in the same street/road could have different ratings. An example might be if there was a block of flats in a road of houses. The residents of the flats could have a lower rating for safety (e.g. if the block included narrow, poorly lit, or hidden walkways) or cleanliness (e.g if the communal areas such as the refuse collection points were poorly maintained).

Ratings from the Capital Questionnaire

The following ratings came from the Capital questionnaire (full details of the questions and scoring methods can be found in Appendix 1):

Holidays and outings ratings

Family Car Ownership

Parental jobs: highest category in household

Number of Children in the Home

Free School Meals (FSM) Claimed

This was supplied by the school data manager (see above).

Independent Variable

The Economic Capital Profile Factor scores were used to split students into three roughly equally-sized groups. Split points were used to create lowest (least capital), middle, and highest (most capital) groups.

2. Other Socio-Economic Ratings

Parental Occupation Status

Dependent variable

Data on Parental Occupation was collected through the Capital Questionnaire. Where both parents worked, the student was awarded the highest category of the two jobs. A 6 point scale was adopted. This was modelled on the 5 class scale of parental occupation in ONS (2010). However, the lowest point on the ONS scale was split into two: unskilled and never worked. This was adopted after considering the following sources: Erikson and Goldthorpe (1992), Rose and Harrison (2007), Rose and Pevalin (2010) ONS (2010a, 2010b, n.d.). The categories can be seen in Table 3.581. The lowest category (never worked) scored 0 and the highest category scored 5.

5: Higher managerial, professional, and administrative occupations

4. Intermediate occupations

3: Self-employed and own account workers

2: Lower supervisory and technical occupations

1: Semi-routine and routine occupations

0: never worked

Parents who were temporarily unemployed but normally worked were rated by their usual occupation. The ‘never worked’ category represented parents who had never worked, or had not worked for so long that the student could not recall their occupation.

Independent Variable

The six categories of Parental Occupation shown in Table 3.581 were recoded to form three comparative categories (lower, middle, and higher occupation status) for use as an independent variable (see Table 3.582). The recoded classification merged the unemployed and unskilled ratings to form the lowest job category. The skilled manual/technical, lower supervisory, lower self-employed (the largest single group from Table 3.581) formed the middle job category. The lower managerial/technical/lower professional/small business, professional/managerial/company director, and higher professional/higher managerial groups were merged to form the highest job category.

Unskilled jobs were those that required no formal qualifications. Examples included shop workers, cleaners, security guards, care

assistants, and school dinner supervisors. Examples of the middle jobs group included carpenter, fitter, fireman, air hostess, registered child minder, bus driver, and beauty therapist. The upper group included lower managerial, technical, and professional included occupations such as pharmacist, nursery nurse, teaching assistant, qualified nurse, gas or telecoms engineer, warehouse manager, and bank worker.

Parental Residence

The Capital questionnaire dealt with people in the student's household. Students were asked which adults they lived with and were given the following tick list:

Mother and Father

Mother and Stepfather

Father and Stepmother

Just Mother

Just Father

Other (write below)

Students who lived with just their mother, just their father, or with one parent and a step-parent were recorded as having a non-resident parent. Scoring was as follows: living with both parents – 0; having a non-resident parent 1. For group means, therefore, the higher the mean, the higher the proportion of students with a non-resident parent.

Parental Contact

Dependent Variable

Students with both resident parents were given a parental contact score of 5. Students who had a non-resident parent were asked to rate their level of contact with their non-resident parent using the following scale (scores in brackets):

at least once a week (4) / about once a fortnight (3) / every few weeks (2)/ only occasionally (1) / rarely or never (0)

For group means, therefore, the higher the mean, the higher the amount of parental contact.

Independent Variable

For use as an independent variable the Parental Contact scores were recoded into three groups (see Table 3.583).

Table 3.581 Parental Occupation Raw Scores

Category	Frequency	Valid %
unemployed	24	16.4
unskilled	40	27.4
skilled manual/lower supervisory/self-employed manual	43	29.5
lower managerial / technical / lower professional / small business	32	21.9
professional / managerial/ company director	6	4.1
higher professional / higher managerial	1	.7
Total	146	100.0

Table 3.582 Recoded Parental Occupation

Category	Frequency	Valid %
Unemployed or unskilled	64	43.8
skilled manual / technical, lower supervisory, lower self-employed	43	29.5
lower professional / lower managerial and above	39	26.7
Total	146	100.0

Table 3.583 Recoded Parental Contact

Category	Frequency	Valid %
two resident parents	81	55.9
Frequent Contact: at least once a week / about once a fortnight	33	22.7
Infrequent Contact: every few weeks / only occasionally / rarely or never	31	21.4
Total	145	100

Number of Children in the Home

Students were asked to list any siblings that lived in their household. This could include siblings over the age of eighteen as long as the student's home was also the sibling's home. When listing siblings students were asked to include full siblings and step/half siblings in the following list:

Number of Brothers

Ages of Brothers

Number of Sisters

Ages of Sisters

Scoring was for the number of children in the household including the student. Only children, therefore, scored 1. All others scored 1 plus the total number of siblings.

3.532 Cultural Capital Ratings

All Cultural Capital ratings came from Factor Analysis 4. Factor Analysis 4 generated three Cultural Capital Factor scores. Initially 25 variables collected from the Capital Questionnaire were selected (69, 70, 72 - 74, 76, 77, 79, 81 - 84, 88, 92 - 95, 97, 100, 101, 104, 105, 108, 111). Nine students had left the school and were not able to complete the Capital questionnaire; one students declined to complete the questionnaire; six students were removed because of too much missing data. Therefore 140 profiles were created. Variables 70, 72, 74, 76, and 81 were removed because they had no correlations above 0.3 with any other variables, leaving 20 variables. There were no correlations above 0.8 and the determinant was over .00001. The KMO measure was .756, and Bartlett's test was significant (<.001). The communalities showed fifteen variables over 0.5, including nine over 0.6. Five factors were retained and the scree plot confirmed that this was plausible. Factors scores from factors 1, 2 and 4 were kept for further analysis, and are detailed in Table 3.57. Factors 3 and 5 were discarded.

Cultural Capital: Books and Cultural knowledge

This score was the cultural capital factor score most associated with negative or positive practitioner perception. It was decided, therefore, to

use this as the main cultural capital indicator. When the generic term *'cultural capital'* is used in this study, it refers to this factor score.

However, as indicated in Table 3.57, two other factor scores (*Discussion of Contemporary Moral Issues in the Home* and *Participation in Creative Activities*) were used as dependent variables. A full list of the questions used, and how they were scored, is in Appendix 1

Cultural Capital Independent Variable

The *Cultural Capital: Books and Cultural knowledge* factor scores were used to split students into three roughly equally-sized groups. Split points were used to create lowest (least capital), middle, and highest (most capital) groups.

Table 3.57 Factor Content and Loadings for Student Self-Reported Cultural Capital

Factor	Factor Content	Loadings
Cultural Capital: Books and Cultural Knowledge	Name some books you have read/favourite authors	.779 (.830)
	How many books are there in your home?	.746 (.756)
	Number of famous cultural figures recognised	.735 (.640)
	How many books do you read (not connected with school work)?	.712 (.737)
	How often have you heard adults in your house talking about books?	.533 (.657)
	Do you play a musical instrument?	.385 (.452)
Discussion of Contemporary Moral Issues in the Home	How often have you heard adults in your house talking about the news?	.802 (.789)
	How often do you watch the news?	.725 (.660)
	How often have you heard adults in your house talking about religion?	.641 (.651)
	How often have you heard adults in your house talking about politics?	.520 (.615)
Participation in Creative Activities	How often do you go to dance, drama, or singing groups?	-.913 (-.860)
	How often do you do something creative?	-.742 (-.786)
N=140		

3.54 Students' Confidence in the School Environment

Self-Reported Ratings

Mean Academic Self-Concept (all subjects) and *Mean Academic Self-Concept (Maths and English only)*

In both the Initial Attitudinal Questionnaire and the Follow-up Attitudinal Questionnaire students were asked *"How good do you think you are in the following subjects?"* They were then asked to give a rating of their performance in eleven school subjects. For each subject they rated their performance on the following scale:

Really good (5) / Quite good (4) / OK (3) / Not too good (2) / Terrible (1)

The scores used are in brackets. The subjects included in the list were: Maths, English, Science, PE, Humanities, ICT/Business*, RE/Values*, Technology, Music, Art, Drama.

**These subject were taught together*

Two means were calculated at each time point for each student: the mean academic self-concept score in all subjects combined, and the mean academic self-concept score for Maths and English only. The later was chosen because these subjects are key in judging school

performance (Ofsted 2013), and because they provided the basis of ability grouping in the school.

Independent Variable for Academic Self-Concept

The mean scores for Academic Self-Concept in all subjects taken from the Initial Attitudinal Questionnaire were used to split students into three roughly equally-sized groups. Split points were used to create lowest (least positive), middle, and highest (most positive) groups for Initial Academic Self-Concept.

Practitioner Perceived Rating

Factor analysis 3 (see above section 3.522, Table 3.542) generated a *Social Competence in School* factor score using variables from the Pastoral Practitioner questionnaire. The factor score was based on the following questions:

How socially confident is the student?

Would you describe the student as a leader or a follower?

Is the student popular with other students?

Does the student get bullied?

Does the student have many arguments/problems with their peers?

For the factor loadings see Table 3.542.

3.6 Analytical Procedures

3.61 Factor Analysis

The factor analysis was carried out with two purposes in mind. The first purpose was dimension reduction, focusing the variables into a smaller number of factors scores that were manageable to analyse. And secondly an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) that allowed for the exploration of groupings emerging from the raw variables.

There are several choices to be made when approaching a factor analysis. And, as highlighted by Schmitt (2011 p312):

> *"Researchers should also realize that each decision they make concerning how to conduct FA will have important implications for the validity of factor structures or lack thereof."*

For this reason it was important to follow the advice of Williams et al (2010 p3) that *"developing a protocol or decision pathway is crucial"* to ensure the quality of the factor scores generated.

The first choice was whether to do a large factor analysis using all available variables (over 120) or whether to do a series of factor analyses using smaller numbers of thematically grouped variables. The decision to adopt the latter approach was made for two reasons. Firstly, by grouping the variables the analysis was able to generate distinct

chronological and/or thematic factor scores that were not in any way influenced by variables from outside the chronological and/or thematic groupings. In other words, the factor scores were cleaner than they might have been if all available variables were included.

Secondly, thematically grouping the variables allowed the ratio between subjects and variables (*N:p* ratio) to be kept at a reasonable level. Although there is no universally accepted minimum for this ratio (Williams et al 2010, MacCallam et al 1999), MacCallam et al (1999) noted that recommended minimum *N:p* ratios vary from 3:1 to over 10:1, observing that some texts on factor analysis do not feel the *N:p* ratio worthy of discussion. However, Costello and Osbourne (2005 p4) made it clear that, although

> *"strict rules regarding sample size for exploratory factor analysis have mostly disappeared"*

this does not mean *N:p* ratios should be ignored. They suggested the *N:p* ratio, rather than being strictly fixed, should be linked to data strength, particularly the communalities. Therefore, this research concluded that an *N:p* ratio of ≥6:1 was reasonable when most of the communalities were ≥0.6, but where possible aimed for a ratio around 10:1.

Five variable groupings were chosen and a separate factor analysis carried out on each group:

- Initial self-reported attitudes to school

- Self-reported attitudes to school (post-first-year)
- Pastoral and Teacher Perceptions of students' attitude (end-of-year 7)
- Cultural Capital
- Economic Capital

The second choice was the extraction method. Opinion is divided on the relative merits of principal components analysis (PCA) or the principal axis method (PA). Although PCA is considered by some (Costello and Osborne 2005; Field 2009) not to be a true factor analysis in strictly mathematical terms, it is the most widely used by researchers (Costello and Osborne 2005). Also, according to Williams et al (2010 citing Thompson 2004a) when the data is reliable, there is little difference between the results from the different methods. Nevertheless, Field (2009) pointed out that that this may not always be the case. However, a pilot run compared the differences between the PCA and PA extraction and, as expected, they gave broadly similar results. Therefore PCA was used as it was considered the method best understood by most of those who might engage with the research. And following the practice of Field (2009) it is referred to as a factor analysis throughout this research.

Field (2009 p658) stresses the importance of avoiding multcollinearity as this can lead to difficulties confirming

"the unique contribution to a factor of the variables that are highly correlated".

Following Field's advice, in order to ensure multicollinearity was not present the *R*-matrix was inspected for correlations >0.8 and the determinant was expected to be over .00001. However, no correlations >0.8 arose in any of the analyses.

Factor retention was determined by retaining all factors with eigenvalues greater than 1. But, taking into account Costello and Osborne's (2005) caveat that using eigenvalues alone can be inaccurate, a visual inspection of the scree plot was used to verify the number of factors retained.

Because the variables in each factor analysis were thematically linked, it was considered likely that some factors might correlate. Therefore oblique (direct oblimin) rotation was used (Field 2009; Costello and Osborne 2005). Schmitt (2011 p312) warned that with orthogonal rotation

"item loadings will become inflated if the factors are truly correlated".

Schmitt went on to say that:

Because oblique rotation will generally produce accurate and comparable factor structures to orthogonal methods even when interfactor correlations are negligible, it is strongly recommended that researchers only use oblique rotation methods because they

generally result in more realistic and more statistically sound factor structures. (Schmitt 2011 p312)

However, taking on board the opinion of Henson and Roberts (2006 p400) that in oblique rotation

"interpretation…must invoke both the factor pattern and factor structure matrices"

structure matrix loadings were reported in brackets. This use of the structure matrix to "double check" was supported by Field (2009).

In order for factor analysis to be considered a valid strategy a Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure (KMO) of more than 0.7 was required. Field (2009) considered a KMO > 0.7 to be good, but < 0.7 to be mediocre or inadequate. Bartlett's test of sphericity needed to be significant with $p < .05$ (Williams et al 2010). All analyses met these requirements.

Missing values were replaced with the mean because, generally, only occasional values were missing from any single student. Excluding listwise or pairwise would have resulted in students with a single missing variable being excluded from receiving a factor score. Nevertheless, after the initial analysis an inspection of the missing values was carried out. Any student with more than one missing value for variables loading >.4 on any factors retained for further use was removed, and the analysis was re-run.

Following the advice of Field (2009) all coefficients of less than 0.4 were suppressed from factor analysis tables to ease interpretation. However, as oblique rotation was used, any variable with a loading >0.4 in the pattern or structure matrices was included in the tables.

Decisions on which factor scores to use are subjective, but some general rules were followed. Considering the discussion by Field (2009) the decision on which factor scores to use involved interpreting the number of loading factors, the size of the loadings, and the communalities. Field (2009 p644) cites the advice of Stevens (2002) that

> *"for a sample size of…100 the loading should be greater than 0.512, for 200 it should be greater than 0.364."*

Therefore, as the sample size in this research was between 100 and 200, factor loadings of 0.4 or over were considered as significant. Secondly, the number of variables with a loading >0.4 was interpreted. As Henson and Roberts (2006 p408) pointed out,

> *"at least two variables are necessary to define a factor — otherwise the factor would be little more than the observed variable itself."*

But factors scores with only two variables were only considered if the variables were thematically linked and the factor loadings were high (>0.8). Generally, factor scores were only used if they had four or more factors loading > 0.4, with at least three loadings > 0.6. As uncorrelated

scores were not required, scores were calculated using the regression method (Field 2009).

3.62 Comparisons of Means

Some commentators have noted that in many areas of research, particularly social sciences, parametric statistical procedures (such as t-tests and ANOVAs) frequently use data that do not fully meet parametric assumptions of normality of distribution and homogeneity of variance, thus compromising their accuracy (Ecreg-Hurn and Mirosevich 2008; Lantz 2013). There is also a view that t-tests and one-way ANOVAs are robust procedures that can tolerate a degree of non-conformity to parametric assumptions (Field 2009; Gavin 2008; Coolican 2009). What became clear when considering a range of views was that a black and white judgement of conformity or non-conformity is too simplistic. But to ignore parametric violations altogether undermines the credibility of outcomes.

The purpose of considering the parametric assumptions was summed up by Ecreg-Hurn and Mirosevich (2008 p595):

> *"The defining feature of robust statistics is that they are able to maintain adequate Type I error control and statistical power, even when data are non-normal or heteroscedastic."*

In order to ensure this control procedures were put in place utilising a range of statistical checks to confirm the robustness of the outcomes. Conformity to normality of distribution and homogeneity of variance were considered as continuums rather than as pass/fail tests. The position of results on the continuum determined the validity of the outcomes and whether alternative tests were needed to increase validity.

Field (2009) suggested four parametric conditions should be considered: normality of sampling distribution; at least interval level data for dependent variables; homogeneity of variance; and the independence of the scores. As all students could only belong to one group in the independent variable categories, all scores were independent. This, therefore, requires no further discussion.
All the dependent variables were made up of at least interval level data. Only one of the ranked variables (parental residence) had less than three intervals. However, parental residence was scored (0 for two resident parents, 1 for a non-resident parent) so that each group had a mean score between 0 and 1. The outcomes, therefore, were considered continuous. Nevertheless it is fair to suggest that some outcomes for parental residence were less robust than other outcomes and should be treated cautiously.

Issues of conformity to normality of distribution and homogeneity of variance are discussed separately for dichotomous categories and multi-group categories.

Results were considered as significant if p≤.05. However, as Wilson and Maclean (2011 p333) pointed out, this significance level is *"fairly arbitrary"* and used because it is accepted practice. Cohen et al (2007) noted that there may be occasions when a result where p>.05 may be of interest. Results, then, were interpreted rather than simply being accepted or dismissed. But Cohen et al (2007) also highlighted the fact that significance alone is no longer considered enough for adequate interpretation. And following their advice, results were interpreted using both significance level and effect size (Cohen's d, see 3.624).

3.621 Dichotomous Categories/independent t-tests

Field (2009) noted that when the sample size is larger than 30 the central limit theorem demonstrates that sampling distribution is unlikely to be a problem. Given the sample sizes in this study, it was fair to assume that the normality of the distribution was acceptable for categories where N>30 for both groups. However, where a group had N<30 the Kolmogorov-Smirnov (KS) test of normality was run on the significant and marginally non-significant outcomes of the independent t-tests. However, no serious issues were highlighted. Homogeneity of

variance was assessed using Levene's test with $p \leq .05$ being considered significant. Where Levene's test was not significant equal variances were assumed. Where Levene's test was significant equal variances were not assumed and the lower, more conservative, line of the output was used.

Also a non-parametric test, the Mann-Whitney (MW) test, was run for all dichotomous categories to check that significant outcomes from the t-tests were also significant in the MW test. Any possible Type I and Type II errors are in Table 3.61. After inspecting the effect sizes it was decided that none of the Type II errors warranted considering the outcome significant. However, all the Type I error outcomes were changed from significant to non-significant due to modest effect sizes.

Table 3.61 Outcomes from the Mann-Witney Test

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Type I or II error	t-test p value	MW test p value
Gender	Attendance	I	.04	.06
Ethnicity level a	Attitude to Primary School	I	.04	.06
	Attendance	II	.08	.01
EAL	Summer Motivation	II	.32	.04
	Combined Classroom / Pastoral Factor Score	II	.13	.02
FSM	Post yr 7 Attitude to lessons	I	.04	.12
	Initial Academic Self-concept (Maths/Eng)	II	.08	.03
SEN	Detentions	II	.06	.006
Parental Residence	Initial Academic Self-concept (Maths/Eng)	I	.04	.07
	Initial Motivation	II	.09	.02
	Initial self-assessed behaviour	II	.06	.04
All-top-sets/others	Assessment of English set level	I	.04	.06

3.622 Multi-group categories/one-way ANOVAs

Many commentators (Wilson and Maclean 2011; Field 2009; Coolihan 2009) have pointed out that although theoretically t-tests could be used to assess between-group differences in categories with more than two groups, the likelihood of Type I errors increases to an unacceptable level. For this reason one-way ANOVAs were used to compare the means for categories with more than two groups. Nevertheless, when using the one-way ANOVA it is important to consider similar parametric assumptions to those discussed for independent t-tests (Wilson and Maclean 2011). The independence of the scores and the suitability of the dependent variables were the same as for the t-tests and therefore require no further discussion.

Field (2009) pointed out that when group sizes are similar the one-way ANOVA is not compromised by violations of normal distribution, especially when there are more than 40 degrees of freedom. Field also concluded that homogeneity of variance is not generally a problem when group sizes are similar. Group sizes were equal, or very close to equal, and had more than 40 degrees of freedom for all outcomes in the following categories: economic capital, cultural capital, and initial attitude to school groups. Also, all of the academic self-concept groups

were no more than 10% higher or lower than the mean group size. However, for parental occupation, parental contact, Maths ability, English ability, and ethnicity level b, some groups differed from the mean by more than 10%, suggesting that violations of normal distribution and homogeneity of variance might lead to Type I and Type II errors.

Therefore, in order to check for possible Type I and Type II errors the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis (KW) test was run and the outcomes were compared to the ANOVA results. For categories where groups were of roughly equal size only large discrepancies were considered and these were judged on a case-by-case basis. But all discrepancies were examined in categories with unequal group size. Where the KW test suggested the possibility of a Type I error for significant ANOVA results, effect sizes for the pairwise comparisons were examined. Where Type II errors were highlighted for non-significant ANOVA outcomes, effect sizes were calculated for the pairwise comparisons. Decisions were made on a case-by-case basis on whether to consider outcomes significant or non-significant (see Table 3.62).

Gabriel's, Bonferroni's, and Games-Howell's procedures were the post hoc tests used for pairwise comparisons. As noted by Field (2009) Gabriel's test generates more statistical power than Bonferroni and is particularly useful because it is effective when categories contain groups of unequal sample size. Gabriel's test was used as the default

option for all categories. Bonferroni's test is somewhat less powerful, but very effective in eliminating Type I errors and was used as a comparison test for categories where all group sizes were within 10% from the mean group size. Games-Howell's test was used because it can deal with unequal group sizes, but it was useful for all categories because it does not assume that variances are equal. Results from Bonferroni and Games-Howell were used to validate the results form Gabriel's test.

Table 3.62 Outcomes from the Kruskal-Wallis Test

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Type I or II error	ANOVA p value	KW test p value	Considered as significant
Economic Capital	Attendance	I	.008	.09	yes
	Post-yr-7 Self-assessed behaviour	I	.04	.09	yes
Cultural Capital	Post-yr-7 Attitude to lessons	II	.08	.02	no
Initial Academic Self-Concept group	Parental Contact	II	.12	.01	no
Parental Occupation Group	Attendance	I	.02	.13	no
Parental Contact Group	Initial Motivation	II	.06	.02	no
	Initial Academic self-concept (all)	II	.11	.04	no
	Classroom behaviour referrals	II	.09	.02	no
Maths Ability Groups	Classroom behaviour referrals	II	.12	.005	no
	Detentions	II	.54	.002	no
English Ability Groups	Detentions	II	.11	.001	no
	Parental contact	II	.1	.04	no

3.623 Assessing Main Effects and Interactions

Factorial ANOVAs were used to assess the interactive effects of the independent categorical variables with significant between-group differences where the effect size was d>.5. Two outcomes were sought. Firstly, to what extent were the independent variables working in an additive model? And secondly, where the additive model was rejected, how did the variables influence each other, and which variables were the most influential? Taking on board the warning from Wilson and Maclean (2011) on the difficulties of interpreting factorial designs with too many conditions, it was decided to use only two-way ANOVAs in this analysis.

If Levene's test returned p>.05, homogeniety of variance was assumed. If Levene's test returned p≤.05, homogeneity was not assumed and outcomes were interpreted with caution. Where the interaction between the two factors returned p>.05 and additive model was assumed. The plots were then studied to confirm the additive model. Where the interaction was significant (p≤.05) a simple effects analysis was run (Field 2009). The outcomes were then interpreted using the F-ratios, plots, and the univariate tests from simple main effects analysis.

3.624 Changes over time/paired samples t-test

Whole Cohort paired t-tests

Eleven pairs of variables were used to rate changes over time. Each pair consisted of a score collected in the students first few weeks at secondary school, and a score for the same measure collected at the end of the first year or beginning of the next year. All variables were scaled. Paired samples t-tests were used to measure the changes in the whole cohort. As the sample size ranged from N=134 to N=156, no issues of normality of distribution were expected. Nevertheless, as a check, the Wilcoxon signed-rank test was run and the significance levels were compared. As all the significance levels from both tests were broadly similar, all the paired t-test outcomes were retained.

Changes in dichotomous and multi-group categories

The twenty-two variables (eleven pairs) were tested using the same procedures as in sections 3.621 and 3.622. Changes in the size and significance of the initial and end-of year between-group differences were assessed, and the key differences recorded in Tables 4.42 and 4.43.

3.625 Effect size calculations/Cohen's d

Thompson (2004b) noted that in the 1990s statisticians were increasingly questioning the over-reliance of researchers on statistical significance, particularly in the fields of psychology and education. Thompson and many others (e.g. Coe 2002; Cohen et al 2007) suggested that using statistical significance in conjunction with effect size is a more effective approach. As Coe (2001 p6) said "*effect size quantifies the size*" of a significant difference. Therefore all significant differences were interpreted using effect size alongside significance.

There are a number of different calculations of effect size to choose from, but Cohen's d was selected. As noted by Thalheimer and Cook (2002), Cohen's d has become the most universally used. Because of this it is likely to be the most readily understood by readers of the research. Also, because Cohen's d is based on means and standard deviations it was ideally suited to the between-group comparisons at the heart of this research. The formula used was based on Muijs (2004; cited in Cohen et al 2007):

$$\frac{\text{Mean 1} - \text{Mean 2}}{\text{Pooled standard deviation}}$$

It is worth noting that many of the online effect size calculators do not take into account the difference in group sizes when calculating Cohen's d for compared means, leading to inflated or deflated results. For this reason, the following formula (see Coe 2002 p7) was used to calculate the pooled standard deviation:

$$SD_{pooled} = \sqrt{\frac{(N_1-1)SD_1^2 + (N_2-1)SD_2^2}{N_1 + N_2 - 2}}$$

3.63 Regression Analysis

The purpose of the multiple regression analysis was to determine the unique and cumulative contribution of predictor variables to the outcome (in this case student's levels of end-of-year practitioner perceived anti-school attitude). The dependent variable was the combined end-of-year/post-first-year pastoral practitioner and classroom-based outcomes factor score. Following the advice of Field (2009 p225) to employ

> *"predictor variables for which there are sound theoretical reasons for expecting them to predict the outcome"*

the choice of predictor variables was guided by looking at categories with significant between-group differences for the means of the combined end-of-year/post-first-year pastoral practitioner/classroom-based outcomes factor score. Several preliminary regression analyses were run in order to determine the relative importance of the predictor variables.

Both Field (2009) and Miles and Shevlin (2001) noted that there is no universal convention for the relationship between the number of predictor variables and sample size. Nevertheless, both discussed the

guidance suggested by Green (1991) that there should be different rules for overall fit and individual *beta* values. Following Green's advice, these guidelines were used:

For overall fit:

N > 50+8k (k= no. of predictors)

10 predictors = 50+80, N>130 12 predictors = 50+96, N>146

For Beta values β:

N>104+k

10 predictors = 104+10, N>114 20 predictors = 104+20, N>124

Generally speaking, then, no more than 12 predictor variables were considered viable. However, Field's (2009) advice to consult the graphs in Miles and Shevlin (2001) was followed and where the effect size (indicated by R^2, Miles and Shevlin 2001) was large, up to 14 predictors were occasionally used.

As suggested by Miles and Shelvin (2001) the independent variable was continuous. All categorical predictor variables had two categories (Field 2009). For the purpose of regression Maths and English groups were considered not as categorical variables, but as interval level data with three and four intervals respectively. All other variables were considered to be interval level or above. Miles and Shevlin (p62) made the point that, particularly in social science, most variables are not likely

to have a flawless interval scale (in a mathematical sense) and it is the task of the researcher to define *"how close is close enough"*. They suggested that while ordinal scales are generally not suitable for regression, rating scales are generally acceptable. Apart from ability groups, all non-categorical predictors had at least five intervals. All variables had non-zero variances.

The importance of avoiding multicollinearity (Field 2009, Coolican 2009) was considered. Firstly, the correlation matrix was checked for any correlations >.8. However, no such correlations were found. As suggested by Field (2009), the variance inflation factor (VIF) and tolerance were checked. Field cited Myers (1990), suggesting that VIF<10 and tolerance>.2 are acceptable. All variables used fell within these parameters. Independent errors were checked using the Durbin-Watson test. Field suggested values between 1 and 3 are acceptable. All the outcomes had values close to 2, therefore no independent error concerns were raised. Normality of distribution was checked visually using histograms and P-P plots. Homoscedasticity and linearity was checked visually using XRESID and ZPRED plots (Field 2009). Missing values were excluded pairwise as only occasional values were absent. Stepwise (forward) entry was run in order to get an accurate picture on the individual contributions of the most significant variables.

Generally speaking, there were no serious issues in any of the tests regarding normality of distribution and homoscedasticity. One possible

exception was a lack of homoscedasticity for the Highbrow Cultural Capital variables/stepwise entry (see scatterplot Figure 3.2) and these results should be treated a little cautiously.

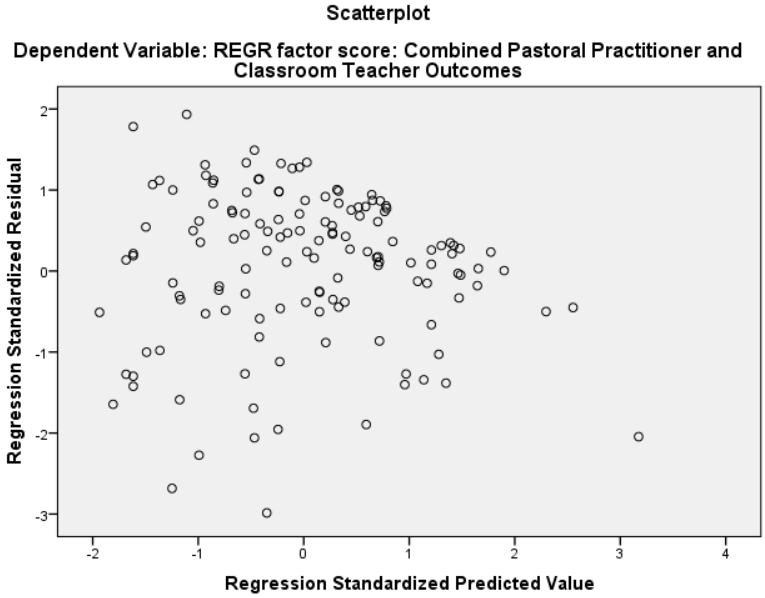

Fig. 3.1: ZRESID/ZPRED plot for Highbrow Cultural Capital

3.7 Ethical Issues

3.71 Ethical Principles

The ethical principles followed in this research are those laid out by the British Educational Research Association (BERA 2011). An ethical approval form was submitted to, and approved by, Warwick University Institute of Education Ethics Committee. As a participant researcher

working in the secondary school where this research took place, the researcher was guided by the health and safety policy of the school and the requirements of the head teacher.

3.72 Permissions and Debriefing

Permission to carry out the research was granted by the head teacher of the school. The head teacher felt the research was part of the normal practice of the school in-as-much as it was being carried out by a member of the teaching staff with the aim of improving practitioners' understanding of the education process. The school often carried out surveys and reviews of practice in order to foster improvement. Some of these were carried out by practitioners as part of higher university degrees, others were purely to improve practice. The head teacher felt that as the researcher was a member of the teaching staff, permission to use school held data was not required from individual students or parents as long as students were not identified or identifiable. This was school policy for a number of research projects.

The head teacher, who was very supportive of the aims of the research, felt it was appropriate to send letters explaining the research to all parents/carers of students taking part. This was done on school headed paper in accordance with the head teachers' wishes. The researcher submitted a draft text which was approved and sent out by the school. The letter invited any parent who wished to discuss the research to

contact the researcher and also included a slip to be filled in and returned to the school office by any parent who did not wish their child to take part. One parent had a discussion about the research by telephone with the researcher. No parents chose to opt out.

Before each student questionnaire the aims of the project were outlined to the students. It was stressed that the questionnaire was voluntary and students could stop or withdraw at any time. Students were informed that if they were not comfortable with any of the questions they could leave them blank. Only one student declined to take part. Adults taking part in questionnaires (pastoral managers and form tutors) were informed that taking part was voluntary, but all agreed to participate. The purpose of the research was explained to them and they were given the right to withdraw.

The head teacher delegated day-to-day liaison for practical aspects of the research to a member of the leadership team. Through this delegate, the academy leaders were informed of the progress of the research every half-term. The interim findings were reported to the leadership team via this delegate. It was agreed with the head teacher that the final report would be made available to the school and that the researcher would offer to debrief the head teacher and/or the leadership team as required. It was recognised that some of the findings might be uncomfortable for practitioners (including the researcher) as they raised issues of institutional discrimination on grounds such as gender,

ethnicity, social class, and disability. However, a strength of the research design (in terms of debriefing practitioners) was that it generated institutional outcomes without identifying individual participants. Certainly, the head teacher was of the view that this made it easier to act on the findings. The researcher also offered to work with the leadership team in debriefing the practitioners of the school. This included offering to lead staff workshops in teacher training days and the production of a summary report for practitioners. The researcher's personal view, also endorsed by the head teacher, was that initially raising practitioner awareness of the issues highlighted by this research was required. This would empower individual faculties, departments, and practitioners to reflect upon the findings and how they might refine their practice as a result.

3.73 Anonymity and Coding

The school was not named. It was identified only as an academy in an area if high disadvantage in the West Midlands. No participants in the research were identified by name in the final report.

When the purpose of each questionnaire was explained to students prior to completion, they were made aware that the researcher needed to be able to identify the respondents in order to co-ordinate the material from the three students questionnaires, teacher-awarded motivation grades, and school-held data such as SEN status, EAL

status, ethnicity, gender, ability groups, behaviour referrals, attendance, and detention logs. The researcher explained that students should not write their names on the questionnaire, and that a code known only by the researcher would be written on the cover of the questionnaire. The researcher explained that once all the data had been co-ordinated, the codes and the names they referred to would be destroyed. Students were given the opportunity to discuss this with the researcher. One student declined to take part.

All digital data were stored in password protected files. Hard copies such as questionnaire were stored in a locked cabinet in a secure room.

Chapter 4: The Results

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will consider the self-reported attitudes and practitioner perceptions of different groups of students at two time markers: four to six weeks after they started secondary school and after students had completed their first school year. Sixteen different student grouping categories were used in the analysis. At both time points the following areas are addressed:

- *Practitioner and self-reported perceptions of students with different characteristics including gender, ethnicity, EAL, and SEN status*
- *Practitioner and self-reported perceptions of students with different levels and types of cultural, economic, and family capital.*
- *Practitioner and self-reported perceptions of students in different ability groups*
- *Practitioner and self-reported perceptions of students in different academic self-concept and self-reported attitudinal groups*

Firstly this chapter will contextualise the results by briefly outlining the between-group differences in students' possession of economic and cultural capital, and by describing the attitudinal changes over time in the cohort as a whole. After this it will report students' self-reported attitudes to school at both time markers, followed by an analysis of students' academic self-concept, and practitioners' perceptions of students' attitudes at both time points. Finally, a regression analysis will

be used to assess the extent to which certain variables, or groups of variables, can predict practitioner-perceived attitudes to school.

4.11 Tables

The data used in this chapter is displayed in the following tables:

Table 4.21: Gender Compared Means/independent t-tests

	Female	Male		
	M (SD)	M (SD)	t	d
Initial Attitudinal Indicators (yr 7)				
Motivation Grades Autumn yr7+	5.46(.2)	5.15(.33)	7.04***	1.13
Mean Academic Self-concept++	3.66(.5)	3.55(.53)	1.37	
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng)++	3.65(.75)	3.53(.84)	1.	
General attitude to Primary School#	.15(.92)	-.15(1.06)	1.87	
Students' view of teachers and lessons#	.19(.89)	-.2(1.07)	2.54*	.4
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons++	4.22(.92)	3.54 (1.07)	4.33***	.7
Rating of the school (single question)++	4.18(.84)	3.92(.99)	1.76	
End of year 7 outcomes (school data)				
% Attendance yr 7	94.99(4.77)	92.89(7.41)	2.1	
Classroom Behaviour Referrals yr 7	3.17(5.99)	16(23.18)	4.73***	.76
Detentions yr 7	52.31(124.9)	198.1(366.1)	3.33**	0.53
Post year 7 outcomes (practitioner data)				
Motivation Grades Summer yr7+	5.45(.31)	4.72(.82)	7.33***	1.18
Social Competence in School#	.15(.99)	-.15(1)	1.91	
Relationships with staff++++	2.36(.76)	1.96(.81)	3.79***	.52
Positive attitude-to-school ++++	2.41(.71)	1.96(.83)	3.63***	.59
Conformity to school ethos ++	3.9(.95)	2.95(1.28)	5.25***	.85
Combined pastoral/class outcomes#	.39(.67)	-.39(1.12)	5.29***	.85
Post year 7 outcomes: (student's data)				
Attitude to Teachers#	.09(1)	-.08(1)	1.01	
Attitude to Lessons#	.1(.95)	-.09(1.04)	1.09	
Mean Academic Self-concept yr8++	3.43(.55)	3.35(.61)	.89	
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng) yr8++	3.65(.73)	3.45(.89)	1.44	
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons yr8++	3.88(1.13)	3.43(1.08)	2.37*	.41
Rating of the sch (single question) yr8++	3(.92)	2.97(1.2)	.16	
Ability Groups				
Mean Set: Maths (1 - 3)	1.82(.8)	1.92(.78)	.79	
Mean Set: English (1 - 4)	1.71(.86)	2.44(1.02)	4.68***	.78
Assessment of Maths set level	-.17(.48)	-.17(.45)	.06	
Assessment of English set level	-.14(.39)	-.17(.42)	.51	
Satisfaction with sets they are in++++	2.06(.8)	1.97(.72)	.68	
Capital Measures				
Economic Capital#	.05(.99)	-.05(1.02)	.61	
Parental Occupation	1.68(1.16)	1.75(1.13)	.36	
Parental Residence	.38(.49)	.51(.5)	1.5	
Parental Contact	3.88(1.8)	3.68(1.77)	.66	
Children in the Household	3.08(1.21)	3.03(1.32)	.26	
Cultural Capital#	.22(.98)	-.22(.98)	2.65*	.45
Cultural Discussion in the Home#	.1(1.01)	-.1(.99)	1.23	
Participation in Creative Activities#	.5(1.1)	-.5(.55)	6.87	1.16
N	78	78		

* p < .05, ** p < .005, *** p < .001 # Regression Factor Score // maximum score + = 6, ++ = 5 +++ = 4 ++++ = 3

Table 4.22 Ethnicity level a Compared Means/independent t-tests

	white	non-white		
	M (SD)	M (SD)	t	d
Initial Attitudinal Indicators (yr 7)				
Motivation Grades Autumn yr7+	5.32(.28)	5.27(.41)	.6	
Mean Academic Self-concept++	3.54(.49)	3.82(.56)	2.97**	.56
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng)++	3.51(.79)	3.83(.78)	2.2**	.42
General attitude to Primary School#	-.1(1.06)	.33(.69)	2.32	
Students' view of teachers and lessons#	.02(.89)	-.079(1.28)	.45	
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons++	3.92(.96)	3.75(1.23)	.78	
Rating of the school (single question)++	4.03(.92)	4.14(.95)	.62	
End of year 7 outcomes (school data)				
% Attendance yr 7	93.44(6.25)	95.55(6.27)	1.79	
Classroom Behaviour Referrals yr 7	8.1(16.49)	14.35(21.97)	1.6	
Detentions yr 7	85.71(173)	252.16(472.5)	2.1*	.61
Post year 7 outcomes (practitioner data)				
Motivation Grades Summer yr7+	5.13(.67)	4.95(.87)	1.13	
Social Competence in School#	-.06(1.04)	.2(.84)	1.56	
Relationships with staff++++	2.13(.79)	2.11(.91)	.11	
Positive attitude-to-school ++++	2.18(.79)	2.22(.85)	.26	
Conformity to school ethos ++	3,45(1.21)	3.35(1.27)	.41	
Combined pastoral/class outcomes#	.045(.92)	-.14(1.23)	.87	
Post year 7 outcomes: (student's data)				
Attitude to Teachers#	-.1(.95)	.29(1.11)	1.95	
Attitude to Lessons#	-.07(1.02)	.21(.93)	1.45	
Mean Academic Self-concept yr8++	3.28(.56)	3.71(.52)	4***	.8
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng) yr8++	3.46(.85)	3.82(.67)	2.3*	.46
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons yr8++	3.61(1.12)	3.76(1.12)	.7	
Rating of the sch (single question) yr8++	2.91(1.05)	3.21(1.12)	1.39	
Ability Groups				
Mean Set: Maths (1 - 3)	1.89(.81)	1.81(.74)	.52	
Mean Set: English (1 - 4)	2.07(1.03)	2.08(.95)	.04	
Assessment of Maths set level	-.14(.49)	-.26(.45)	1.39	
Assessment of English set level	-.14(.37)	-.21(.48)	.76	
Satisfaction with sets they are in++++	2.06(.78)	1.88(.69)	1.17	
Capital Measures				
Economic Capital#	.044(.99)	-.13(1.04)	.9	
Parental Occupation	1.75(1.13)	1.62(1.19)	.6	
Parental Residence	.45(.5)	.43(.5)	.18	
Parental Contact	3.78(1.77)	3.78(1.84)	.01	
Children in the Household	3.06(1.26)	3.05(1.29)	.01	
Cultural Capital#	.03(.99)	-.1(1.05)	.69	
Cultural Discussion in the Home#	-.21(.93)	.63(.93)	4.59***	.9
Participation in Creative Activities#	-.09(.97)	.26(1.05)	1.76	
N	119	37		

* p < .05, ** p < .005, *** p < .001 # Regression Factor Score // maximum score + = 6, ++ = 5 +++ = 4 ++++ = 3

Table 4.23 EAL Compared Means/independent t-tests

	Non-EAL	EAL		
	M (SD)	M (SD)	t	d
Initial Attitudinal Indicators (yr 7)				
Motivation Grades Autumn yr7+	5.31(.3)	5.26(.43)	.47	
Mean Academic Self-concept++	3.57(.51)	3.82(.56)	1.98*	.49
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng)++	3.57(.82)	3.71(.56)	.71	
General attitude to Primary School#	-.07(1.03)	.5(.56)	3.62**	.58
Students' view of teachers and lessons#	-.02(.92)	.11(1.48)	.37	
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons++	3.84(1.03)	4.22(.94)	1.49	
Rating of the school (single question)++	4.02(.9)	4.26(1.05)	1.06	
End of year 7 outcomes (school data)				
% Attendance yr 7	93.62(6.54)	96.25(3.47)	1.712	
Classroom Behaviour Referrals yr 7	9.75(17.82)	8.37(20.21)	.31	
Detentions yr 7	128.39(286.93)	102.11 (251.89)	.38	
Post year 7 outcomes (practitioner data)				
Motivation Grades Summer yr7+	5.06(.70)	5.24(.83)	1	
Social Competence in School#	.02(1.01)	-.13(.9)	.6	
Relationships with staff++++	2.08(.82)	2.42(.77)	1.72	
Positive attitude-to-school ++++	2.15(.8)	2.47(.77)	1.68	
Conformity to school ethos ++	3.36(1.24)	3.84(1.02)	1.61	
Combined pastoral/class outcomes#	-.04(.99)	.32(1.07)	1.51	
Post year 7 outcomes: (student's data)				
Attitude to Teachers#	-.06(.97)	.44(1.16)	1.91	
Attitude to Lessons#	-.05(1.01)	.39(.83)	1.66	
Mean Academic Self-concept yr8++	3.33(.58)	3.78(.38)	2.97**	.8
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng) yr8++	3.51(.85)	3.81(.48)	1.38	
Self-assessed behaviour lessons yr8++	3.61(1.12)	3.94(1.12)	1.1	
Rating of the sch (single question) yr8++	2.92(1.08)	3.44(.96)	1.81	
Ability Groups				
Mean Set: Maths (1 - 3)	1.87(.8)	1.89(.76)	.11	
Mean Set: English (1 - 4)	2.06(1.01)	2.17(.99)	.41	
Assessment of Maths set level	-.15(.46)	-.31(.48)	1.39	
Assessment of English set level	-.15(.4)	-.19(.4)	.35	
Satisfaction with sets they are in++++	2.05(.78)	1.75(.58)	1.49	
Capital Measures				
Economic Capital#	.045(1)	-.32(1)	1.44	
Parental Occupation	1.73(1.13)	1.61(1.24)	.43	
Parental Residence	.48(.5)	.17(.38)	3.16**	.64
Parental Contact	3.65(1.83)	4.67(.97)	3.61**	.59
Children in the Household	3.01(1.32)	3.39(.7)	1.89	
Cultural Capital#	-.02(1)	.17(1.03)	.75	
Cultural Discussion in the Home#	-.14(.93)	1.02(.91)	4.83***	1.26
Participation in Creative Activities#	-.08(.96)	.55(1.11)	2.48*	.65
N	137	19		

* p < .05, ** p < .005, *** p < .001 # Regression Factor Score // maximum score + = 6, ++ = 5 +++ = 4 ++++ = 3

Table 4.24 FSM Compared Means/independent t-tests

	Non-FSM	FSM		
	M (SD)	M (SD)	t	d
Initial Attitudinal Indicators (yr 7)				
Motivation Grades Autumn yr7+	5.36 (.27)	5.17(.39)	2.8**	.6
Mean Academic Self-concept++	3.68(.49)	3.4(.55)	3.	.55
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng)++	3.66(.82)	3.4(.72)	1.77	
General attitude to Primary School#	.024(1.03)	-.06(.98)	.49	
Students' view of teachers and lessons#	.033(.98)	-.089(1.06)	.67	
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons++	3.96(.97)	3.68(1.17)	1.46	
Rating of the school (single question)++	4.17(.88)	3.73(.98)	2.67*	.49
End of year 7 outcomes (school data)				
% Attendance yr 7	94.7(5.31)	91.86(8.13)	2.1*	.46
Classroom Behaviour Referrals yr 7	5.94(11.78)	19.48(26.71)	3.17***	.8
Detentions yr 7	82.46(203.7)	241.19(409.9)	2.4*	.58
Post year 7 outcomes (practitioner data)				
Motivation Grades Summer yr7+	5.22(.59)	4.72(.9)	3.35**	.73
Social Competence in School#	.12(.97)	-.31(1.04)	2.42	.44
Relationships with staff++++	2.26(.77)	1.74(.83)	3.72***	.67
Positive attitude-to-school ++++	2.32(.76)	1.81(.8)	3.7***	.67
Conformity to school ethos ++	3.66(1.13)	2.79(1.24)	4.17***	.76
Combined pastoral/class outcomes#	.22(.81)	-.6(1.2)	4.07***	.88
Post year 7 outcomes: (student's data)				
Attitude to Teachers#	.04(1)	-.11(1)	.76	
Attitude to Lessons#	.13(.87)	-.34(1.23)	2.12	
Mean Academic Self-concept yr8++	3.4(.53)	3.3(.7)	.45	
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng) yr8++	3.66(.79)	3.24(.91)	2.71*	.53
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons yr8++	3.77(1.01)	3.32(1.36)	1.81	
Rating of the sch (single question) yr8++	3.12(1.08)	2.62(.98)	2.47*	.48
Ability Groups				
Mean Set: Maths (1 - 3)	1.79(.78)	2.07(.79)	1.97	
Mean Set: English (1 - 4)	1.9(.95)	2.51(1.03)	3.39**	.63
Assessment of Maths set level	-.14(.43)	-.24(.55)	1.02	
Assessment of English set level	-.11(.38)	-.27(.45)	1.92	
Satisfaction with sets they are in++++	2.09(.76)	1.81(.74)	1.93	
Capital Measures				
Economic Capital#				
Parental Occupation	2.03(1.1)	0.9(.81)	5.91***	1.11
Parental Residence	.38(.49)	.63(.49)	2.74*	.52
Parental Contact	4.01(1.66)	3.18(1.96)	2.39*	.48
Children in the Household	2.9(1.26)	3.49(1.17)	2.55*	.48
Cultural Capital#	.17(.96)	-.47(.92)	3.51**	.68
Cultural Discussion in the Home#	0(1.01)	0(.99)	.03	
Participation in Creative Activities#	.03(1.05)	-.09(.86)	.63	
N	114	42		

* p < .05, ** p < .005, *** p < .001 # Regression Factor Score // maximum score + = 6, ++ = 5 +++ = 4 ++++ = 3

Table 4.25 SEN Compared Means/independent t-tests

	non-SEN	SEN		
	M (SD)	M (SD)	t	d
Initial Attitudinal Indicators (yr 7)				
Motivation Grades Autumn yr7+	5.37(.29)	5.15(.34)	4.03***	.73
Mean Academic Self-concept++	3.67(.5)	3.42(.53)	2.7*	.49
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng)++	3.72(.78)	3.26(.74)	3.34**	.6
General attitude to Primary School#	.14(.9)	-.35(1.16)	2.77*	.5
Students' view of teachers and lessons#	.04(.92)	-.11(1.2)	.85	
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons++	3.93(1.01)	3.76(1.08)	.9	
Rating of the school (single question)++	4.04(.9)	4.08(1)	0.2	
End of year 7 outcomes (school data)				
% Attendance yr 7	94.02(6.76)	93.73(4.98)	.26	
Classroom Behaviour Referrals yr 7	7.3(15.66)	15.58(22.33)	2.23*	.47
Detentions yr 7	117.08(30)	146.51(220.7)	.58	
Post year 7 outcomes (practitioner data)				
Motivation Grades Summer yr7+	5.2(.68)	4.8(.7459)	3.14**	.58
Social Competence in School#	.26(.85)	-.67(1.07)	5.13***	1.03
Relationships with staff++++	2.29(.78)	1.67(.7)	4.49***	.81
Positive attitude-to-school ++++	2.3(.78)	1.88(.79)	2.9**	.54
Conformity to school ethos ++	3.63(1.14)	2.88(1.26)	3.54**	.64
Combined pastoral/class outcomes#	.16(.95)	-.42(1.01)	3.37**	.61
Post year 7 outcomes: (student's data)				
Attitude to Teachers#	-.01(1.02)	.02 (.96)	.16	
Attitude to Lessons#	.03(1.02)	-.1(.96)	.67	
Mean Academic Self-concept yr8++	3.43(.6)	3.26(.51)	1.47	
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng) yr8++	3.6(.82)	3.23(.75)	2.73*	.54
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons yr8++	3.7(1.15)	3.49(1.07)	.98	
Rating of the sch (single question) yr8++	2.95(1.04)	3.09(1.17)	.64	
Ability Groups				
Mean Set: Maths (1 - 3)	1.65(.7)	2.46(.72)	6.11***	1.12
Mean Set: English (1 - 4)	1.71(.79)	3.08(.84)	9.08***	1.71
Assessment of Maths set level	-.13(.44)	-.29(.52)	1.6	
Assessment of English set level	-.13(.39)	-.23(.43)	1.27	
Satisfaction with sets they are in++++	2.08(.77)	1.83(.71)	1.69	
Capital Measures				
Economic Capital#	.11(.95)	-.31(1.07)	2.29*	.43
Parental Occupation	1.82(1.09)	1.44(1,25)	1.82	
Parental Residence	.43(.5)	.49(.5)	.61	
Parental Contact	3.82(1.78)	3.67(1.78)	.46	
Children in the Household	2.94(1.24)	3.36(1.29)	1.77	
Cultural Capital#	.16(.98)	-.42(.93)	3.1**	.59
Cultural Discussion in the Home#	.14(1.02)	-.37(.86)	2.73*	.52
Participation in Creative Activities#	.08(1.05)	-.21(.82)	1.7	
N	113	43		

* p < .05, ** p < .005, *** p < .001 # Regression Factor Score // maximum score + = 6, ++ = 5 +++ = 4 ++++ = 3

Table 4.26 Parental Residence Compared Means/independent t-tests

	Two resident parents	Other situation		
	M (SD)	M (SD)	t	d
Initial Attitudinal Indicators (yr 7)				
Motivation Grades Autumn yr7+	5.36 (0.31)	5.27 (0.3)	1.72	
Mean Academic Self-concept++	3.69 (0.58)	3.51 (0.43)	2.11*	.34
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng)++	3.73 (0.74)	3.45 (0.87)	2.07	
General attitude to Primary School#	.18(.89)	-.14(.96)	2.07*	.35
Students' view of teachers and lessons#	.01(.99)	-.03(1.05)	.21	
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons++	4.03 (1.02)	3.69 (1.07)	1.93	
Rating of the school (single question)++	4.12 (.91)	3.92 (.92)	1.26	
End of year 7 outcomes (school data)				
% Attendance yr 7	96.09 (3.95)	91.65 (7.56)	4.3***	.77
Classroom Behaviour Referrals yr 7	6.57 (14.72)	13.46 (21.76)	2.18*	.38
Detentions yr 7	58.4 (147.7)	204.9 (382.2)	2.92*	.53
Post year 7 outcomes (practitioner data)				
Motivation Grades Summer yr7+	5.25(0.66)	4.92 (0.73)	2.9**	.49
Social Competence in School#	.24(.9)	-.17(1)	2.59*	.43
Relationships with staff++++	2.35 (.78)	1.86 (.81)	3.68***	.62
Positive attitude-to-school ++++	2.42 (.72)	1.19 (.8)	3.94***	.67
Conformity to school ethos ++	3.8 (1.15)	3.02 (1.14)	4.14***	.69
Combined pastoral/class outcomes#	.29(.9)	-.33(1.04)	3.85***	.65
Post year 7 outcomes: (student's data)				
Attitude to Teachers#	.14(.95)	-.17(1.05)	1.82	
Attitude to Lessons#	.11(.89)	-.15(1.11)	1.52	
Mean Academic Self-concept yr8++	3.46(.51)	3.29(.65)	1.72	
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng) yr8++	3.64(.70)	3.43(.94)	1.59	
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons yr8++	3.8(1.07)	3.45(1.17)	1.83	
Rating of the sch (single question) yr8++	3.01(1.06)	2.95(1.1)	.34	
Ability Groups				
Mean Set: Maths (1 - 3)	1.78 (.78)	2 (.8)	1.7	
Mean Set: English (1 - 4)	1.93 (.93)	2.28 (1.08)	2.14*	.35
Assessment of Maths set level	-.2(.46)	-.13(.47)	.8	
Assessment of English set level	-.11(.35)	-.22(.45)	1.57	
Satisfaction with sets they are in++++	1.95(.78)	2.1(.73)	1.16	
Capital Measures				
Economic Capital#	.16(.99)	-.19(.99)	2.13*	.36
Parental Occupation	2.05 (1.12)	1.31 (1)	4.10***	.69
Parental Residence				
Parental Contact				
Children in the Household	2.85 (1.15)	3.32 (1.35)	2.23*	.38
Cultural Capital#	.087(.97)	-.11(1.04)	1.16	
Cultural Discussion in the Home#	.231(.99)	-.29(.94)	3.16**	.54
Participation in Creative Activities#	.08(1.05)	-.1(.93)	1.05	
N	81	65		

* p < .05, ** p < .005, *** p < .001 # Regression Factor Score // maximum score + = 6, ++ = 5 +++ = 4 ++++ = 3

Table 4.27 All top sets/others Compared Means/independent t-tests

	In All Top Sets	Not All top Sets		
	M (SD)	M (SD)	t	d
Initial Attitudinal Indicators (yr 7)				
Motivation Grades Autumn yr7+	5.47(.24)	5.24(.32)	4.94***	.78
Mean Academic Self-concept++	3.72(.5)	3.56(.53)	1.68	
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng)++	3.92(.8)	3.46(.77)	3.24**	.59
General attitude to Primary School#	.06(.89)	-.04(1.05)	.56	
Students' view of teachers and lessons#	.05(1.01)	-.04(1.011)	.5	
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons++	3.93(1.1)	3.86(1.01)	.38	
Rating of the school (single question)++	4.07(.91)	4.01(.93)	.36	
End of year 7 outcomes (school data)				
% Attendance yr 7	95.83(3.83)	93.28(6.96)	2.88*	.44
Classroom Behaviour Referrals yr 7	5.47(15.98)	11.52(18.86)	2	
Detentions yr 7	51.16(146.4)	158.17(319.9)	2.82*	.38
Post year 7 outcomes (practitioner data)				
Motivation Grades Summer yr7+	5.43(.47)	4.95(.77)	4.73***	.77
Social Competence in School#	.28(.98)	-.1(.98)	2.18*	.4
Relationships with staff++++	2.47(.8)	1.98(.79)	3.38**	.62
Positive attitude-to-school ++++	2.6(.66)	2.02(.79)	4.29***	.8
Conformity to school ethos ++	4(1.07)	3.2(1.2)	3.8***	.7
Combined pastoral/class outcomes#	.44 (.83)	-.18(1.02)	3.57***	.65
Post year 7 outcomes: (student's data)				
Attitude to Teachers#	-.16(.96)	.08(1.02)	1.28	
Attitude to Lessons#	.07(1.07)	-.03(.98)	.52	
Mean Academic Self-concept yr8++	3.43(.62)	3.36(.56)	.67	
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng) yr8++	4(.84)	3.35(.73)	4.5***	.85
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons yr8++	3.78(1.23)	3.59(1.08)	.92	
Rating of the sch (single question) yr8++	2.98(1)	2.98(1.11)	.02	
Ability Groups				
Mean Set: Maths (1 - 3)				
Mean Set: English (1 - 4)				
Assessment of Maths set level	+.02(.16)	-.26(.53)	4.69***	.63
Assessment of English set level	-.05(.38)	-.2(.4)	2.1	
Satisfaction with sets they are in++++	2.34(.73)	1.87(.74)	3.41**	.65
Capital Measures				
Economic Capital#	.48(.98)	-.19(.95)	3.83***	.71
Parental Occupation	2.05(1.31)	1.59(1.05)	2.01*	.41
Parental Residence	.36(.49)	.48(.5)	1.32	
Parental Contact	4.02(1.66)	3.72(1.79)	.96	
Children in the Household	2.46(1.14)	3.29(1.24)	3.7***	.69
Cultural Capital#	.65 (1.08)	-.27(.84)	5.43***	1.02
Cultural Discussion in the Home#	.17(1.03)	-.06(.99)	1.25	
Participation in Creative Activities#	.27(1.06)	-.1(.96)	2.01*	.38
N	43	109		

* p < .05, ** p < .005, *** p < .001 # Regression Factor Score // maximum score + = 6, ++ = 5 +++ = 4 ++++ = 3

Table 4.31 Economic Capital Groups Compared Means/One-way ANOVA

Economic Capital Group	Lowest	Middle	Highest	
	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	F
Initial Attitudinal Indicators (yr 7)				
Motivation Grades Autumn yr7+	5.19(.37)	5.37(.25)	5.4(.25)	7.22**
Mean Academic Self-concept++	3.51(.59)	3.68(.49)	3.64(.49)	1.37
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng)++	3.53(.74)	3.67(.9)	3.63(,78)	.39
General attitude to Primary School#	.12(.95)	-.07(1.06)	,08(.78)	.55
Students' view of teachers and lessons#	.1(1.08)	-.06(1.1)	-.04(.87)	.35
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons++	3.8(1.26)	3.9(.94)	3.94(.95)	.2
Rating of the school (single question)++	3.98(1.01)	4.04(.93)	4.07(.83)	.11
End of year 7 outcomes (school data)				
% Attendance yr 7	91.96(8.82)	94.52(4.51)	95.78(3.62)	4.93*
Classroom Behaviour Referrals yr 7	18.33(26.27)	7.53(13.76)	3.27(6.46)	9.46***
Detentions yr 7	248.96(438.9)	83.06(146)	42.29(113.7)	7.64**
Post year 7 outcomes (practitioner data)				
Motivation Grades Summer yr7+	4.79(.95)	5.14(.55)	5.38(.42)	9.35***
Social Competence in School#	-.27(.98)	0(.88)	.42(.94)	6.7**
Relationships with staff++++	1.77(.78)	2.24(.8)	2.35(.79)	7.42**
Positive attitude-to-school ++++	1.83(.75)	2.14(.76)	2,6(.68)	13.47***
Conformity to school ethos ++	2.79(1.18)	3.61(1.12)	3.94(1)	13.49***
Combined pastoral/class outcomes#	-.54(1.2)	.13(.82)	.43(.7)	13.99***
Post year 7 outcomes: (student's data)				
Attitude to Teachers#	0(1.07)	0(1.04)	0(.92)	0
Attitude to Lessons#	-.35(1.09)	.03(1.113)	.27(.67)	4.47*
Mean Academic Self-concept yr8++	3.33(.84)	3.41(.62)	3.4(.47)	.29
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng) yr8++	3.35(.8)	3.57(.82)	3.69(.79)	1.92
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons yr8++	3.32(1.27)	3.65(1.19)	3.94(.82)	3.43*
Rating of the sch (single question) yr8++	2.83(1.07)	3.04(1.15)	3.07(1)	.63
Ability Groups				
Mean Set: Maths (1 - 3)	2.11(.76)	1.82(.76)	1.71(.82)	3.3*
Mean Set: English (1 - 4)	2.51(1.02)	1.96(.91)	1.79(.97)	7.19**
Assessment of Maths set level	-.22(.53)	-.23(.47)	-.06(.39)	1.19
Assessment of English set level	-.22(.42)	-.19(.39)	-.06(.39)	1.93
Satisfaction with sets they are in++++	1.85(.65)	2.08(.82)	2.09(.78)	1.32
Capital Measures				
Economic Capital#				
Parental Occupation				
Parental Residence				
Parental Contact				
Children in the Household				
Cultural Capital#	-.51(.9)	-.05(.87)	.53(.97)	15.17***
Cultural Discussion in the Home#	.01(.94)	-.09(1.06)	.08(1)	.36
Participation in Creative Activities#	-.08(.97)	-.06(1.07)	.14(.96)	.68
N	48	49	48	

* p < .05, ** p < .005, *** p < .001 # Regression Factor Score // maximum score + = 6, ++ = 5 +++ = 4 ++++ = 3

Table 4.32 Parental Occupation Compared Means/One-way ANOVA

Parental Occupation	Unemployed/ Unskilled work	skilled man-ual/ super-visory,	lower prof/ managerial and above	
	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	F
Initial Attitudinal Indicators (yr 7)				
Motivation Grades Autumn yr7+	5.29 (.34)	5.29 (.26)	5.41 (9.28)	2.37
Mean Academic Self-concept++	3.54 (.53)	3.54 (.51)	3.79 (.52)	3.12*
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng)++	3.55 (.84)	3.63 (.63)	3.68 (.92)	0.35
General attitude to Primary School#	-.07(1.05)	.1(.71)	.16(.94)	.86
Students' view of teachers and lessons#	0(1.14)	-.1(.86)	.08(.97)	.31
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons++	3.86 (1.15)	3.67 (.95)	4.13 (.95)	2
Rating of the school (single question)++	3.9 (.95)	4.15 (.91)	4.11 (.88)	1.05
End of year 7 outcomes (school data)				
% Attendance yr 7	92.64 (8.1)	94.53 (4.49)	96.04 (3.04)	3.92
Classroom Behaviour Referrals yr 7	14.42(23.79)	8.4 (14.88)	3.15 (5.7)	4.91*
Detentions yr 7	193.8(391.3)	97 (165.3)	37.9 (107.6)	4.02*
Post year 7 outcomes (practitioner data)				
Motivation Grades Summer yr7+	4.94 (.85)	5.08 (.62)	5.4 (.37)	5.47*
Social Competence in School#	-.14(.96)	.02(1)	.44(.79)	4.62*
Relationships with staff++++	1.92 (.82)	2.09 (.84)	2.51 (.68)	6.79**
Positive attitude to school++++	1.92 (.78)	2.19 (.79)	2.67 (.58)	12.37***
Conformity to school ethos ++	3.11 (1.24)	3.35 (1.15)	4.13 (.92)	21.25***
Combined pastoral/class outcomes#	-.3(1.13)	0(.92)	.54(1.04)	9.38***
Post year 7 outcomes: (student's data)				
Attitude to Teachers#	-.06(1.04)	.18(.9)	-.11(1.05)	.98
Attitude to Lessons#	-.13(1.19)	-.13(.85)	.34(.73)	3.24*
Mean Academic Self-concept yr8++	3.29(.67)	3.41(.47)	3.5(.52)	1.62
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng) yr8++	3.41(.89)	3.5(.74)	3.82(.74)	3.06*
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons yr8++	3.5(1.26)	3.48(1.11)	4.05(.8)	3.56*
Rating of the sch (single question) yr8++	2.95(1.15)	3.03(.98)	3(1,08)	.07
Ability Groups				
Mean Set: Maths (1 - 3)	1.95 (.77)	1.95 (.83)	1.67 (.77)	1.87
Mean Set: English (1 - 4)	2.29 (1.07)	2.19 (.86)	1.64 (.93)	5.61*
Assessment of Maths set level	-.21(.52)	-.13(.4)	-.16(.44)	.38
Assessment of English set level	-.21(.45)	-.13(.34)	-.11(.39)	.89
Satisfaction with sets they are in++++	2.03(.75)	2(.75)	2(.81)	.04
Capital Measures				
Economic Capital#				
Parental Occupation				
Parental Residence	.63(.49)	.35(.48)	.26(.44)	4.57***
Parental Contact	3.19 (1.97)	4.12 (1.53)	4.36 (1.42)	6.81**
Children in the Household	3.41 (1.23)	3.09 (1.27)	2.42 (1.08)	8.08***
Cultural Capital#	-.27(1.03)	-.13(.88)	.56(.95)	9.69***
Cultural Discussion in the Home#	-.06(1.04)	-.13(.88)	.22(1.04)	1.45
Participation in Creative Activities#	.01(1.01)	-.14(1)	.12(.99)	.66
N	64	43	39	

* p < .05, ** p < .005, *** p < .001 # Regression Factor Score // maximum score + = 6, ++ = 5 +++ = 4 ++++ = 3

Table 4.33 Parental Contact Compared Means/One-way ANOVA

Contact with Absent Parents	Infrequent	Frequent	Both Resident	
	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	F
Initial Attitudinal Indicators (yr 7)				
Motivation Grades Autumn yr7+	5.35(.28)	5.22(.3)	5.36(.31)	2.81
Mean Academic Self-concept++	3.52(.37)	3.49(.49)	3.69(.58)	2.266
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng)++	3.45(.76)	3.42(.96)	3.73(.74)	2.39
General attitude to Primary School#	-.14(.85)	-.16(1.06)	.18(.89)	2.31
Students' view of teachers and lessons#	.1(.94)	-.11(1.45)	.01(.99)	.35
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons++	3.94(.93)	3.53(1.08)	4.01(1.02)	2.74
Rating of the school (single question)++	4.03(.9)	3.79(.93)	4.12(.91)	1.49
End of year 7 outcomes (school data)				
% Attendance yr 7	93.23(5.46)	91.01(7.65)	96.09(3.95)	11.54***
Classroom Behaviour Referrals yr 7	14.65(26.28)	11.03(15.09)	6.57(14.72)	2.48
Detentions yr 7	189.68(281.15)	175.45(389.36)	58.4(147.77)	4.37*
Post year 7 outcomes (practitioner data)				
Motivation Grades Summer yr7+	5.06(.64)	4.86(.69)	5.25(.66)	4.32*
Social Competence in School#	-.17(1.13)	-.18(.89)	.24(.9)	3.48*
Relationships with staff++++	2(.89)	1.76(.71)	2.35(.78)	7.12**
Positive attitude-to-school ++++	2(2.138)	1.8788(.74)	2.4198(.722)	7.472**
Conformity to school ethos ++	3.161(1.27)	2.94(.97)	3.8(1.15)	8.23***
Combined pastoral/class outcomes#	-.23(1.12)	-.35(.87)	.29(.9)	6.81**
Post year 7 outcomes: (student's data)				
Attitude to Teachers#	-.12(1.28)	-.22(.82)	.14(.95)	1.71
Attitude to Lessons#	.07(1.21)	-.33(1)	.11(.89)	2.35
Mean Academic Self-concept yr8++	3.34(.7)	3.24(.6)	3.46(.51)	1.69
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng) yr8++	3.43(1.03)	3.42(.88)	3.64(.7)	1.2
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons yr8++	3.75(1.18)	3.19(1.12)	3.8(1.07)	3.65*
Rating of the sch (single question) yr8++	3.14(1.15)	2.78(1.04)	3.01(1.06)	.91
Ability Groups				
Mean Set: Maths (1 - 3)	2(.83)	2(.79)	1.775(.78)	1.42
Mean Set: English (1 - 4)	2.17(1.15)	2.4(1.03)	1.93(.93)	2.71
Assessment of Maths set level	-.18(.39)	-.09(.53)	-.2(.46)	.56
Assessment of English set level	-.29(.46)	-.16(.448)	-.11(.35)	2.1
Satisfaction with sets they are in++++	2.18(.72)	2.03(.74)	1.95(.78)	.96
Capital Measures				
Economic Capital#	-.25(.89)	-.1(1.07)	.16(.99)	2.18
Parental Occupation	1.16(1.04)	1.5(1.03)	2.05(1.12)	8.66***
Parental Residence				
Parental Contact				
Children in the Household	3.47(1.22)	3.16(1.45)	2.85(1.15)	2.78
Cultural Capital#	.06(1.12)	-.27(.94)	.09(.97)	1.53
Cultural Discussion in the Home#	-.14(.93)	-.43(.95)	.23(.99)	5.68**
Participation in Creative Activities#	-.05(1.1)	-.15(.75)	.08(1.05)	.63
N	31	33	81	

* p < .05, ** p < .005, *** p < .001 # Regression Factor Score // maximum score + = 6, ++ = 5 +++ = 4 ++++ = 3

Table 4.34 Cultural Capital Groups Compared Means/One-way ANOVA

Cultural Capital Groups	Lowest	Middle	Highest	
	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	F
Initial Attitudinal Indicators (yr 7)				
Motivation Grades Autumn yr7+	5.16(.33)	5.33(.25)	5.49(.21)	18.42***
Mean Academic Self-concept++	3.45(.6)	3.65(.44)	3.74(.5)	3.96*
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng)++	3.43(.97)	3.66(.69)	3.74(.7)	1.96
General attitude to Primary School#	-.06(1)	.17(.83)	0(.99)	.71
Students' view of teachers and lessons#	-.24(1.34)	.07(.8)	.18(.74)	2.26
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons++	3.59(1.2)	3.91(.9	4.2(.81)	4.24*
Rating of the school (single question)++	3.91(1.03)	3.98(.89)	4.16(.83)	.85
End of year 7 outcomes (school data)				
% Attendance yr 7	93.67(5.82)	94.172(5.33)	95.748(3.25)	2.23
Classroom Behaviour Referrals yr 7	16.32(20.9)	8.45(18.01)	1.8(3.46)	9.47***
Detentions yr 7	169.57(228.6)	120.43(336.9)	32.39(110.2)	3.76*
Post year 7 outcomes (practitioner data)				
Motivation Grades Summer yr7+	4.7(.72)	5.16(.52)	5.55(.29)	28.82***
Social Competence in School#	-.13(.97)	.03(.91)	.29(.985)	2.22
Relationships with staff++++	1.74(.82)	2.15(.78)	2.54(.66)	12.99***
Positive attitude-to-school ++++	1.79(.78)	2.11(.76)	2.76(.43)	24.97***
Conformity to school ethos ++	2.87(1.19)	3.43(1.02)	4.22(.89)	19.58***
Combined pastoral/class outcomes#	-.51(1)	.083(.89)	.65(.47)	23.8***
Post year 7 outcomes: (student's data)				
Attitude to Teachers#	-.08(1.04)	.01(.97)	.08(.99)	.3
Attitude to Lessons#	-.18(1.05)	-.12(.96)	.32(.89)	3.45*
Mean Academic Self-concept yr8++	3.33(.51)	3.37(.57)	3.47(.66)	.7
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng) yr8++	3.41(.75)	3.56(.7)	3.72(.98)	1.54
Self-assessed behav in lessons yr8++	3.4(1.21)	3.55(.98)	4(1.03)	3.72*
Rating of the sch (single question) yr8++	3.04(1.3)	2.95(1.06)	2.98(1.04)	.09
Ability Groups				
Mean Set: Maths (1 - 3)	2.02(.79)	1.98(.77)	1.59(.75)	4.44*
Mean Set: English (1 - 4)	2.55(.97)	2.13(.98)	1.52(.78)	14.85***
Assessment of Maths set level	-.11(.44)	-.23(.52)	-.14(.41)	.79
Assessment of English set level	-.2(.46)	-.11(.32)	-.11(.39)	.72
Satisfaction with sets they are in++++	2.07(.75)	1.86(.67)	2.11(.84)	1.36
Capital Measures				
Economic Capital#	-.41(.84)	.01(1.05)	.52(.85)	12.05***
Parental Occupation	1.28(.93)	1.81(1.15)	2.15(1.19)	7.54**
Parental Residence	.55(.5)	.4(.5)	.37(.49)	1.81
Parental Contact	3.62(1.74)	3.81(1.85)	3.93(1.74)	.38
Children in the Household	3.33(1.3)	3.11(1.22)	2.7(1.15)	3.08*
Cultural Capital#				
Cultural Discussion in the Home#				
Participation in Creative Activities#				
N	47	47	48	

* p < .05, ** p < .005, *** p < .001 # Regression Factor Score // maximum score + = 6, ++ = 5 +++ = 4 ++++ = 3

Table 4.35 Maths Ability Groups Compared Means/One-way ANOVA

Maths Sets	Maths set1	Maths set 2	Maths set 3	
	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	F
Initial Attitudinal Indicators (yr 7)				
Motivation Grades Autumn yr7+	5.41(.27)	5.29(.33)	5.23(.3)	4.49*
Mean Academic Self-concept++	3.68(.51)	3.62(.57)	3.49(.48)	1.43
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng)++	3.87(.79)	3.56(.76)	3.28(.79)	6.41**
General attitude to Primary School#	.11(.85)	.13(.9)	-.19(.93)	1.56
Students' view of teachers and lessons#	-.01(1.08)	-.07(.97)	.09(1.27)	.27
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons++	3.95(1.01)	3.75(1.11)	3.97(1.04)	.67
Rating of the school (single question)++	4.09(.92)	3.96(.95)	4(.88)	.27
End of year 7 outcomes (school data)				
% Attendance yr 7	96.02(3.74)	93.61(6.65)	92.06(7.89)	5.02*
Classroom Behaviour Referrals yr 7	6.39(17.5)	13.73(19.87)	9.03(17.33)	2.19
Detentions yr 7	76.43(202.7)	200.77(402.9)	90(152.7)	2.97
Post year 7 outcomes (practitioner data)				
Motivation Grades Summer yr7+	5.29(.61)	4.97(.76)	5.01(.75)	3.38*
Social Competence in School#	.21(.95)	.12(.86)	-.32(1.09)	3.57*
Relationships with staff++++	2.36(.8)	2.06(.8)	1.89(.84)	4*
Positive attitude-to-school ++++	2.52(.69)	1.92(.76)	2.08(.83)	9***
Conformity to school ethos ++	3.89(1.09)	3.15(1.16)	3.24(1.26)	6.36**
Combined pastoral/class outcomes#	.33(.89)	-.27(1.09)	-.08(.95)	5.29*
Post year 7 outcomes: (student's data)				
Attitude to Teachers#	-.08(.97)	-.07(.98)	.26(1.08)	1.48
Attitude to Lessons#	.06(1.04)	-.16(.98)	.12(.99)	.93
Mean Academic Self-concept yr8++	3.45(.61)	3.39(.64)	3.27(.43)	1.06
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng) yr8++	3.93(.8)	3.4(.74)	3.15(.72)	12.02***
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons yr8++	3.8(1.2)	3.48(1.13)	3.64(.99)	1
Rating of the sch (single question) yr8++	3.02(1.01)	2.79(1.03)	3.18(1.21)	1.37
Ability Groups				
Mean Set: Maths (1 - 3)				
Mean Set: English (1 - 4)	1.29(.56)	2.21(.75)	3.08(.86)	71.44***
Assessment of Maths set level	.06(.23)	-.23(.52)	-.45(.51)	15.7***
Assessment of English set level	-.07(.38)	-.15(.36)	-.3(.47)	3.45*
Satisfaction with sets they are in++++	2.28(.71)	1.94(.73)	1.7(.77)	6,87**
Capital Measures				
Economic Capital#	.31(.98)	-.19(.97)	-.17(.98)	4.33*
Parental Occupation	1.95(1.21)	1.6(1.05)	1.57(1.17)	1.7
Parental Residence	.36(.49)	.46(.5)	.54(.5)	1.45
Parental Contact	4.04(1.62)	3.78(1.78)	3.46(1.91)	1.2
Children in the Household	2.63(1.2)	3.4(1.21)	3.25(1.25)	5.89**
Cultural Capital#	.33(1.15)	-.12(.83)	-.34(.85)	5.72**
Cultural Discussion in the Home#	.11(.96)	.08(1.09)	-.27(.92)	1.74
Participation in Creative Activities#	.16(1.04)	-.01(1.02)	-.19(.88)	1.33
N	56	52	37	

* p < .05, ** p < .005, *** p < .001 # Regression Factor Score // maximum score + = 6, ++ = 5 +++ = 4 ++++ = 3

Table 4.36 English Ability Groups Compared Means/One-way ANOVA

English Set	1	2	3	4	
	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	F
Initial Attitudinal Indicators (yr 7)					
Motivation Grades Autumn yr7+	5.47 (.21)	5.35(.25)	5.17(.33)	5.03(.35)	14.5***
Mean Academic Self-concept++	3.73(.5)	3.72(.51)	3.38(.52)	3.34(.45)	5.38**
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng)++	3.9(.77)	3.6(.77)	3.52(.61)	2.84(.87)	8.38***
General attitude to Primary School#	.13(.87)	.38(.75)	-.23(.88)	-.68(1.21)	7.08***
Students' view of teachers/lessons#	.08(.96)	.03(.78)	-.06(1.2)	-.265(1.34)	.51
Self-assessed behav. in lessons++	4.02(1.04)	4.02(.92)	3.67(1.18)	3.44(1.09)	1.98
Rating of the school (single qu)++	4.04(.89)	4.16(.85)	3.97(1.08)	3.58(.79)	1.28
End of year 7 outcomes (school data)					
% Attendance yr 7	95.32(4.21)	94.34(6.21)	94.05(6.64)	89.94(9.4)	3.18*
Classroom Behaviour Referrals yr 7	5.1(14.68)	7.3(15.76)	17.9(23.89)	15.63(19.96)	4.1*
Detentions yr 7	61.92(164)	118.48(196)	216.45(430)	166.88(179)	2.05
Post year 7 (practitioner data)					
Motivation Grades Summer yr7+	5.44(.44)	5.15(.62)	4.43(.86)	4.57(.8)	11.8***
Social Competence in School#	.31(.94)	.08(.83)	-.02(1)	-.82(1.06)	6.17**
Relationships with staff++++	2.42(.776)	2.22(.728)	1.81(.833)	1.56(.814)	7.282***
Positive attitude-to-school ++++	2.56(.67)	2.17(.74)	1.84(.78)	1.75(.86)	8.57***
Conformity to school ethos ++	3.96(1.05)	3,46(1.03)	3.03(1.3)	2.69(1.3)	7.4***
Combined pastoral/class outcomes#	.43(.79)	.09(.87)	-.49(1.2)	-.59(1)	8.74***
Post year 7 (student's data)					
Attitude to Teachers#	-.14(.99)	.12(.96)	.22(1.01)	-.32(1.09)	1.44
Attitude to Lessons#	.05(1.05)	.1(.97)	-.15(.93)	-.22(1.13)	.63
Mean Academic Self-concept yr8++	3.42(.6)	3.52(.59)	3.31(.41)	2.95(.63)	3.7*
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng) yr8++	3.9(.87)	3.49(.64)	3.4(.67)	2.77(.88)	8.42***
Self-assessed beh. in lessons yr8++	3.8(1.17)	3.89(1.04)	3.21(1.08)	3.23(1.09)	3.14*
Rating of the sch (single qu) yr8++	2.96(.97)	3.07(.95)	2.83(1.31)	3.08(1.32)	.33
Ability Groups					
Mean Set: Maths (1 - 3)	1.19(.45)	1.98(.65)	2.32(.65)	2.88(.34)	50.62***
Mean Set: English (1 - 4)					
Assessment of Maths set level	-.04(.29)	-.23(.57)	-.17(.47)	-.46(.52)	3.34*
Assessment of English set level	-.06(.38)	-.14(.35)	-.17(.38)	-.54(.52)	5.34**
Satisfaction with sets they are in++++	2.24(.78)	2(.75)	1.79(.68)	1.69(.75)	3.24*
Capital Measures					
Economic Capital#	.42(.97)	-.13(.99)	-.26(.86)	-.42(1.03)	5.36**
Parental Occupation	2.06(1.29)	1.63(1)	1.58(.77)	1.19(1.47)	2.99*
Parental Residence	.35(.48)	.48(.51)	.39(.5)	.75(.45)	2.89*
Parental Contact	3.9(1.83)	3.8(1.77)	4.13(1.41)	2.81(1.94)	2.15
Children in the Household	2.64(1.19)	3.22(1.3)	3.45(1.12)	3.27(1.34)	3.39*
Cultural Capital#	.58(1.01)	-.05(.87)	-.55(.65)	-.68(.88)	14.09***
Cultural Discussion in the Home#	.15(1.02)	.13(.99)	-.19(1.01)	-.45(.81)	2.08
Participation in Creative Activities#	.28(1.04)	.08(1.09)	-.45(.66)	-.22(.82)	3.96*
N	52	46	31	16	

* p < .05, ** p < .005, *** p < .001 # Regression Factor Score // maximum score + = 6, ++ = 5 +++ = 4 ++++ = 3

Table 4.37 Academic Self-Concept Groups Compared Means/One-way ANOVA

Initial Academic Self-Concept Groups	Lowest	Middle	Highest	
	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	F
Initial Attitudinal Indicators (yr 7)				
Motivation Grades Autumn yr7+	5.234(.36)	5.3(.29)	5.37(.29)	2.37
Mean Academic Self-concept++				
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng)++				
General attitude to Primary School#	-.23(.95)	-.18(.92)	.35(1.02)	6.03**
Students' view of teachers/ lessons#	-.34(1.18)	.19(.73)	.15(.96)	4.5*
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons++	3.46(1.11)	3.91(.97)	4.23(1.03)	8.16***
Rating of the school (single qu)++	3.67(1.03)	4.15(.9)	4.28(.75)	6.28**
End of year 7 outcomes (school data)				
% Attendance yr 7	93.34(5.82)	94.1(6.84)	94.34(6.32)	.36
Classroom Behaviour Referrals yr 7	13.73(21.32)	9.65(19.95)	5.82(11.54)	2.63
Detentions yr 7	138.23(241)	134.17(343)	105.97(264)	.21
Post year 7 outcomes (practitioner data)				
Motivation Grades Summer yr7+	4.87(.76)	5.1(.69)	5.27(.67)	4.28*
Social Competence in School#	-.18(1.02)	0(.94)	.15(1.03)	1.48
Relationships with staff++++	1.88(.79)	2.1(.83)	2.35(.77)	4.69*
Positive attitude-to-school ++++	1.98(.81)	2.25(.81)	2.32(.76)	2.63
Conformity to school ethos ++	3.27(1.3)	3.35(1.21)	3.61(1.15)	1.16
Combined pastoral/class outcomes#	-.29(1.1)	0(.99)	.25(.85)	4.09*
Post year 7 outcomes: (student's data)				
Attitude to Teachers#	-.23(.96)	-.035(1.06)	.23(.94)	2.36
Attitude to Lessons#	-.4(.98)	-.11(.99)	.45(.85)	9.6***
Mean Academic Self-concept yr8++	3.11(.51)	3.37(.63)	3.63(.49)	9.96***
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng) yr8++	3.23(.78)	3.6(.85)	3.77(.76)	5.2*
Self-assessed behav in lessons yr8++	3.24(1.18)	3.53(1.2)	4.1(.83)	7.49**
Rating of the sch (single qu) yr8++	2.73(1.16)	2.98(1.07)	3.21(.95)	2.25
Ability Groups				
Mean Set: Maths (1 - 3)	2.09(.84)	1.73(.75)	1.81(.76)	2.79
Mean Set: English (1 - 4)	2.43(1.13)	2.02(,93)	1.81(.88)	5.09*
Assessment of Maths set level	-.22(.53)	-.09(.35)	-.21(.5)	1.19
Assessment of English set level	-.1(.37)	-.13(.4)	-.23(.43)	1.36
Satisfaction with sets they are in++++	1.8(.81)	2.15(.66)	2.06(.78)	2.44
Capital Measures				
Economic Capital#	-.2(1)	.04(1.01)	.14(.98)	1.48
Parental Occupation	1.48(1.03)	1.74(1.07)	1.91(1.28)	1.76
Parental Residence	.48(.51)	.6(.5)	.28(.46)	5.35*
Parental Contact	3.72(1.79)	3.43(1.78)	4.15(1.73)	2.15
Children in the Household	2.85(1.32)	3.02(1.22)	3.26(1.24)	1.37
Cultural Capital#	-.33(1)	.04(.9)	.26(1.02)	4.37*
Cultural Discussion in the Home#	-.27(.91)	-.15(.95)	.38(1.02)	6.16**
Participation in Creative Activities#	-.06(.96)	.13(1.12)	0(1)	.69
N	51	48	57	

* p < .05, ** p < .005, *** p < .001 # Regression Factor Score // maximum score + = 6, ++ = 5 +++ = 4 ++++ = 3

Table 4.38 Initial Attitude-to-school Groups Compared Means/One-way ANOVA				
Initial attitude-to-school	Least Positive	Middle	Most Positive	
	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	F
Initial Attitudinal Indicators (yr 7)				
Motivation Grades Autumn yr7+	5.23(.36)	5.35(.28)	5.34(.29)	2.55
Mean Academic Self-concept++	3.4(.55)	3.68(.43)	3.74(.52)	6.48**
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng)++	3.35(.95)	3.66(.58)	3.78(.78)	4.27*
General attitude to Primary School#				
Students' view of teachers and lessons#				
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons++				
Rating of the school (single question)++	3.57(1.02)	4.02(.84)	4.53(.62)	15.97***
End of year 7 outcomes (school data)				
% Attendance yr 7	92.49(8.16)	94.9(4.43)	94.55(5.58)	2.24
Classroom Behaviour Referrals yr 7	13.87(21.78)	7.25(16.45)	7.76(15.09)	2.15
Detentions yr 7	173.85(322)	103.14(318)	102.16(190)	1.09
Post year 7 outcomes (practitioner data)				
Motivation Grades Summer yr7+	4.82(.89)	5.21(.62)	5.23(.54)	5.63**
Social Competence in School#	.06(.93)	.03(1.08)	-.08(1.02)	.28
Relationships with staff++++	1.88(.86)	2.27(.78)	2.24(.76)	3.72*
Positive attitude-to-school ++++	1.98(.87)	2.33(.77)	2.27(.72)	2.95
Conformity to school ethos ++	3.06(1.27)	3.86(1.18)	3.37(1.1)	6.01**
Combined pastoral/class outcomes#	-.33(1.16)	.25(.89)	.1(.86)	4.91*
Post year 7 outcomes: (student's data)				
Attitude to Teachers#	-.35(1.03)	.02(.83)	.3(1.05)	4.98*
Attitude to Lessons#	.-24(.95)	.04(.96)	.23(1.05)	2.53
Mean Academic Self-concept yr8++	3.35(.57)	3.39(.63)	3.44(.55)	.23
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng) yr8++	3.27(.89)	3.65(.81)	3.74(.7)	4.42*
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons yr8++	3.4(1.16)	3.73(1.04)	3.84(1.15)	1.91
Rating of the sch (single question) yr8++	2.73(1.21)	3(.87)	3.22(1.09)	2.36
Ability Groups				
Mean Set: Maths (1 - 3)	2(.8)	1.63(.73)	1.98(.82)	3.45*
Mean Set: English (1 - 4)	2.31(1.1)	1.71(.77)	2.21(1.06)	5.17*
Assessment of Maths set level	-,27(.5)	-.07(.45)	-.18(.44)	2.04
Assessment of English set level	-.18(.44)	-.14(.41)	-.16(.37)	.12
Satisfaction with sets they are in++++	1.84(.8)	1.98(.76)	2.22(.7)	2.9
Capital Measures				
Economic Capital#	-.02(.99)	.18(1.01)	.18(.99)	1.62
Parental Occupation	1.61(1.06)	1.94(1.13)	1.63(1.25)	1.21
Parental Residence	.45(.5)	.4(.5)	.48(.51)	.27
Parental Contact	3.85(1.76)	3.74(1.85)	3.71(1.79)	.09
Children in the Household	3.06(1.28)	2.83(1.24)	3.28(1.21)	1.52
Cultural Capital#	-.21(.92)	.27(1.01)	-.06(1.04)	2.78
Cultural Discussion in the Home#	-.07(.91)	.1(.99)	-.03(1.12)	.38
Participation in Creative Activities#	-.17(.98)	.16(1.15)	.01(.84)	1.27
N	52	51	52	
* p < .05, ** p < .005, *** p < .001 # Regression Factor Score // maximum score + = 6, ++ = 5 +++ = 4 ++++ = 3				

Table 4.39 Ethnicity level b Compared Means/One-way ANOVA

Ethnicity level b	white	mixed-heritage	Black/Black British	Asian/Asian British	
	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	F
Initial Attitudinal Indicators (yr 7)					
Motivation Grades Autumn yr7+	5.32(.28)	5.17(.43)	5.33(.32)	5.47(.41)	2.58*
Mean Academic Self-concept++	3.43(.49)	3.83(.64)	3.78(.44)	4.08(.42)	2.95*
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng)++	3.51(.79)	4(1.04)	3.74(.59)	4.08(.59)	2.13
General attitude to Primary School#	-.1(1.06)	.18(.86)	.44(.61)	.22(.71)	1.49
Students' view of teachers/lessons#	.02(.89)	-.32(1.31)	.05(1.1)	.46(.68)	1.57
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons++	3.92(.96)	3.17(1.4)	3.88(1.17)	4.33(.52)	2.15
Rating of the school (single qu)++	4.03(.92)	4(.85)	4.18(1.13)	4.17(.75)	.25
End of year 7 outcomes (school data)					
% Attendance yr 7	93.44(6.25)	92.58(10.23)	97.27(1.98)	96.45(2.63)	1.84
Classroom Behaviour Referrals yr 7	8.1(16.49)	24.17(21.67)	8.35(17.02)	2.67(3.77)	4.29**
Detentions yr 7	85.71(173)	497.5(690)	127.65(213)	16.67(31)	8.51***
Post year 7 (practitioner data)					
Motivation Grades Summer yr7+	5.13(.67)	4.47(.86)	5.2(.65)	5.5(.34)	4.18**
Social Competence in School#	-.062(1.04)	.5(.89)	-.03(.87)	.33(.71)	1.04
Relationships with staff++++	2.13(.79)	1.5(.8)	2.35(.86)	2.67(.52)	2.92*
Positive attitude-to-school ++++	2.18(.79)	1.67(.78)	2.47(.8)	2.67(.52)	2.45*
Conformity to school ethos ++	3,45(1.21)	2.25(1.06)	3.76(1.03)	4.5(.55)	4.78**
Combined pastoral/class outcomes#	.045 (.92)	-1.05(1.07)	.28(.92)	.76(.37)	5.65***
Post year 7 student's data)					
Attitude to Teachers#	-.1(.95)	.212(1.2)	.489(1.15)	-.02(.89)	1.36
Attitude to Lessons#	-.07(1.02)	-.2(.95)	.44(.89)	.54(.82)	1.59
Mean Academic Self-concept yr8++	3.28(.56)	3.27(.3)	3.94(.48)	3.94(.54)	7.12***
Mean Ac Self-Con (Maths/Eng) yr8++	3.46(.85)	3.41(.58)	4.03(.59)	4(.84)	2.42
Self-assessed behav in lessons yr8++	3.61(1.12)	3.36(1.21)	4.(1.)	4.17(1.17)	1.47
Rating of the sch (single qu) yr8++	2.91(1.05)	3(1.27)	3.44(.96)	2.83(.13)	1.09
Ability Groups					
Mean Set: Maths (1 - 3)	1.89(.81)	1.75(.62)	1.94(.83)	1.5(.55)	.45
Mean Set: English (1 - 4)	2.07(1.03)	2(.95)	2.06(.97)	1.83(.75)	1.11
Assessment of Maths set level	-.14(.47)	-.27(.47)	-.31(.48)	-.17(.41)	.67
Assessment of English set level	-.14(.37)	-.09(.54)	-.38(.5)	0(0)	1.61
Satisfaction with sets they are in++++	2.06(.78)	2(.78)	1.62(.62)	2.33(.52)	1.42
Capital Measures					
Economic Capital#	.04(.99)	-.08(1.19)	-.52(.62)	.7447(.72)	2.18
Parental Occupation	1.75(1.13)	1.33(.99)	1.35(.93)	2.67(.82)	2.13
Parental Residence	.45(.5)	.75(.54)	.35(.49)	.17(.41)	2.21
Parental Contact	3.78(1.77)	3.36(1.8)	3.76(1.9)	4.17(2)	.45
Children in the Household	3.06(1.26)	2.75(.45)	3.59(.94)	2.17(.98)	1.71
Cultural Capital#	.03(.97)	-.36(1.06)	-.06(1.08)	.54(.78)	1.24
Cultural Discussion in the Home#	-.21(.93)	.08(.62)	1.04(1.08)	.69(.83)	7.33***
Participation in Creative Activities#	-.09(.97)	.16(.83)	.37(1.12)	..3(1.5)	.96
N	119	12	17	6	

* p < .05, ** p < .005, *** p < .001 # Regression Factor Score // maximum score + = 6, ++ = 5 +++ = 4 ++++ = 3

Table 4.41 The Whole Cohort: Changes Over Time

	Initial	One Year On		
Variables	M(SD)	M(SD)	t	d
Teacher-perceived motivation	5.31(.32)	5.09(.72)	5.32***	.4
General Rating of the School	4.03(.94)	2.97(1.06)	11.24***	1.06
Academic self-concept (all subjects)	3.61(.53)	3.39(.58)	4.1***	.41
Academic self-concept (Maths/Eng)	3.61(.82)	3.5(.82)	.73	.21
Are the teachers nice people?	3.86(.81)	3.13(.85)	7.75***	.87
Are the teachers good teachers?	3.97(.83)	3.34(.91)	7.28***	.77
Are the teachers fair?	3.74(.91)	2.95(.89)	8.4***	.88
How much work do you do in lessons?	3.99(.74)	3.71(.81)	3.14**	.36
Other students' behaviour in lessons?	2.77(.98)	2.16(1.01)	5.79***	.62
Self-assessed behaviour in lessons	3.88(1.03)	3.66(1.13)	2.27*	.21
How many lessons do you enjoy?	3.32(.91)	2.78(.89)	5.52***	.6

* p < .05, ** p < .005, *** p < .001 # Regression Factor Score // maximum score + = 6, ++ = 5 +++ = 4 ++++ = 3

Table 4.42 Changes in significance over time: dichotomous categories

	M(SD)	M(SD)	t	d
Gender	***Female***	***Male***		
Are the teachers good teachers?	4.15(.77)	3.82(.82	2.62*	.4
Are the teachers good teachers? Yr 8	3.45(.85)	3.24(.77)	1.53	
SEN	***SEN***	***non-SEN***		
Other students' behaviour in lessons?	2.44(.98)	2.9(.93)	2.71*	.49
Other students' behaviour in lessons? Yr8	1.94(.91)	2.24(1.04)	1.49	
EAL	***EAL***	***non-EAL***		
Are the teachers good teachers?	4.11(1.24)	3.97(.74)	.46	
Are the teachers good teachers? Yr 8	3.75(.85)	3.29(.79)	4.63*	.58
Parental Residence	***Two Res Parents***	***Other Situation***		
Are the teachers nice people?	3.88(.81)	3.83(.79)	.36	
Are the teachers nice people? Yr 8	3.29(.81)	2.93(.86)	2.47*	.44
FSM Status	***FSM***	***non-FSM***		
How much work do you do in lessons?	3.98(.78)	3.94(.75)	.28	
How much work do you do in lessons? Yr8	3.38(.92)	3.84(.82)	2.73*	.59

* p < .05, ** p < .005, *** p < .001 # Regression Factor Score // maximum score + = 6, ++ = 5 +++ = 4 ++++ = 3

Table 4.43 Changes significance over time: multi-group categories

	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	F
Economic Capital Group	***Lowest***	***Middle***	***Highest***	
How much work do you do in lessons?	4.06(.79)	3.94(.71)	3.97(.76)	
How much work do you do in lessons? Yr8	3.39(.83)	3.73(.89)	3.98(.57)	6.3**
Parental Occupation	***Lowest***	***Middle***	***Highest***	
How many of your lessons do you enjoy?	3.51(.85)	3 (.83)	3.51(.95)	3.81*
How many of your lessons do you enjoy? Yr8	2.83(.9)	2.68(.92)	2.76(.88)	
How much work do you do in lessons?	4(.8)	3.9(.66)	3.95(.83)	
How much work do you do in lessons? Yr8	3.53(.92)	3.65(.58)	4.05(.73)	5.22*
Cultural Capital Group	***Lowest***	***Middle***	***Highest***	
How much work do you do in lessons?	3.87(.88)	3.98(.75)	4.09(.63)	
How much work do you do in lessons? Yr8	3.53(.84)	3.61(.81)	4(.72)	4.39*
Academic Self-Concept Group	***Lowest***	***Middle***	***Highest***	
Are the teachers nice people?	3.53(.81)	4.11(.6)	3.95(.81)	7.83**
Are the teachers nice people? Yr 8	3.07(.85)	3.02(.92	3.29(.77)	
Are the teachers good teachers?	3.82(.91)	4.02(.82)	4.11(.7)	
Are the teachers good teachers? Yr 8	3.31(.8)	3.36(.79)	3.54(.8)	3.45*
How much work do you do in lessons?	3.8(.75)	3.94(.79)	4.09(.71)	
How much work do you do in lessons? Yr8	3.44(.81)	3.66(.76)	4(.77)	5.91**

* p < .05, ** p < .005, *** p < .001 # Regression Factor Score // maximum score + = 6, ++ = 5 +++ = 4 ++++ = 3

4.12 An Overview of between-group differences in Economic and Cultural Capital

In order to contextualise the student self-reported and practitioner-perceived data, the following section will give a brief overview of the between-group differences in the possession of economic and cultural capitals.

Gender

There were no gender differences for economic capital or parental residence. However, girls had slightly higher levels of cultural capital compared to boys [t(138)=2.65,p.009,d.45].

Ethnicity and EAL

There were no differences in economic capital, parental residence or cultural capital between non-white students and others. While there were also no differences between EAL students and others for economic and cultural capital, EAL students were more likely than others to have two resident parents [t(26)=3.16,p.004,d.64]. However, both non-white and EAL students reported higher levels of cultural discussion in the home compared to others. The difference between non-white students and others was large [t(138)=4.59, p<.001,d.9] and between EAL students and others it was very large

[t(138)=4.83,p<.001,d1.26]. EAL students were also more likely than others to take part in creative activities [t(138)=2.48,p.014,d.65].

SEN Status

SEN students had slightly lower levels of economic capital than others [t(143)=2.29, p.023,d.43]. They also had lower levels of cultural capital [t(138)=3.1, p.002,d.59] and cultural discussion in the home [t(138)=2.73, p.007,d.52]. There was no difference for parental residence.

Economic Capital Groups

Students in higher economic capital groups also possessed higher levels of cultural capital [F(2,137)=15.17,p<.001] with a very large difference between the top and lowest groups [d1.65], a large between the top and middle groups [d.9], and a somewhat smaller difference between the middle and lowest groups [d.52].

Parental Residence

Students with a non-resident parent had a slightly lower level of economic capital than others [t(143=2.13, p.035,d.36], and a lower parental occupation status [t(144)=4.1,p<.001,d.69].

Cultural Capital Groups

Students in higher cultural capital groups had higher levels of economic capital than those in lower groups [F(2,137)=12.05,p<.001]. The difference between the highest and lowest group was very large [d1.11].

Academic Self Concept Groups

There were no between-group differences for economic capital for academic self-concept groups. However, for cultural capital [F(2,137)=4.37,p.015] the highest group and moderately more cultural capital than the lowest [d.59]. The outcome was similar for the level of cultural discussion in the home [F(2,137)=6.16, p.003] where the difference between the highest and lowest groups was moderate [d.68].

Initial Attitude-to-School Groups

There were no significant differences between initial attitude-to-school groups for possession of economic or cultural capitals.

Ability Groups

Students in all-top-sets had higher levels of economic capital compared to other students [t(142)=3.83,p<.001,d.71). This was reflected in the

differences between Maths groups [F(2,141)=4.33,p.015] and English groups [F(3,140)=5.36,p.002].

The between-group differences for cultural capital were, however, considerably larger as shown by the very large difference between all-top-set students and others [t(137)=5.43,p<.001,d1.02]. Nevertheless, it should be noted that between-group differences for English sets [F(3,135)=14.09,p<.001] were larger than those for Maths sets [F(2,136)=5.72,p.004]. The top English set had considerably more cultural capital than the second [d.67], third [d1.28] and fourth [d1.3] sets. Although the top Maths set had more cultural capital than others, the differences between the top and both the middle [d.45] and lowest [d.64] sets were less marked than between English groups.

4.13 Changes over time: the whole cohort

This section will examine the extent of changes over time in the cohort as a whole for students' self-reported attitudes and teachers' perceptions of students' attitudes. It will use the results from paired-samples t-tests using the outcomes of data collected towards the end of students' first half-term in school and the outcomes from the end-of-year/post-first-year data to examine how between-group differences changed, or did not, changed over students' first year in secondary school (Table 4.41).

The fact that all but one of the eleven t-tests in Table 4.41were significant (the exception being academic self-concept for Maths and English only) suggested that there were considerable changes over tine in the collective attitudes of the whole cohort. All ten of the significant t-tests showed that the cohort was becoming more negative in its views of school. However, it is interesting to note that teachers' perceptions of student motivation dropped rather less over the year than students' views on the teachers. There was only a modest difference [t(155)=5.32,p<.001,d.4] between the initial and end-of-year teacher-perceived motivation grades. However, students' views on whether the teachers were nice people [t(134)=7.75, p<.001,d.87] saw a large drop between the initial and post-first-year ratings. The differences were similar for teacher fairness [t(133)=8.4, p<.001,d.88] and on whether the school had good teachers [t(135)=7.28, p<.001,d.77]. After a year in secondary school, then, students' collective views of teachers had become considerably more negative.

The differences were slightly smaller for students' views on lessons. For the number of lessons enjoyed [t(134)=5.52, p<.001,d.6] there was a moderate drop between the initial and post-first-year ratings. The decline in students' ratings of other people's behaviour in lessons [t(134)=5.79, p<.001,d.69] was also moderate while the change in students' rating of their own classroom behaviour [t(133)=2.27, p.03,d.21] was even smaller. And the drop for how much work students

did in lessons [t(134)=3.14, p.002,d.36] was just modest. However, for students' general rating of the school [t(129)=11.24, p<.001,d1.06] the drop between the initial and post-first-year ratings was very large.

Generally, students' academic self-concept did not change very much over the year. The difference for academic self-concept in Maths and English only was not significant and for all subjects [t(135)=4.1, p<.001,d.41] it was just modest. So, while the differences for academic self-concept and self-assessed behaviour suggested that students did not greatly change the way they looked at themselves, it is clear that students had become a lot more negative towards school in general and teachers in particular. Indeed, given the large decreases in the perceived fairness and niceness of teachers, it could be suggested that there was a growing hostility between students and practitioners.

4.2 Students' Self-Reported Attitudes to School

This section will examine students' self-reported attitudes to school by looking at the between-group differences in the categories reported in Tables 4.21 to 4.27, and Tables 4.31 to 4.39. It will focus on three areas which represent three distinct time-markers in the students' educational experiences. Firstly the attitudes to school students brought with them from primary school will be reported using the 'Attitude to Primary School' factor score. The scores were calculated from variables that

covered students' attitudes to teachers, learning, other children, and their general opinion of the school. Secondly, students' initial views on teacher and lessons, and students' general rating of the school will be reported using measures generated from the Initial Attitudinal Questionnaire. And thirdly students' views on teacher and lessons, and students' general rating of the school after their first year in school will be reported using measures for the Follow-up Attitudinal Questionnaire.

4.21 Students' Self-Reported Attitudes to School: student characteristics

Gender

As shown in Table 4.21, there were no significant differences between boys and girls for attitudes to primary school. However in their initial attitudes to secondary school girls were more positive about teachers and lessons than boys [t(153)=2.54, p.01,d.4], although the difference was only modest. Girls were also more positive about their classroom behaviour than boys [t(152)=4.33, p<.001,d.7] and this difference was moderate-to-large. Nevertheless, there was no significant gender difference in students' overall rating of their new school.

By the end of the first year in secondary school self-reported gender difference in attitudes to school were smaller than at the start of the year. There were no significant differences in attitudes to teachers, attitudes to lessons, or overall rating of the school. And although boys

still rated their classroom behaviour less positively than girls [t(134)=2.37, p.02,d.41] the initial moderate-to-strong difference was now only modest. Indeed, for self-reported attitudes to teachers and lessons there was only one change in significance over the year (Are the teachers good teachers?" Table 4.42) [initial t(153)=2.62,p.01,d.4; post-first year t(134)=1.53,p.13]. But the effect size for this difference was just modest [d.4].

There were no significant gender differences for students' assessments of their ability group placements in Maths or English, or for their general satisfaction with their ability groups.

Ethnicity and EAL

As shown in Table 4.22, non-white students were more positive about primary school than their white peers but the difference was not significant. However, Table 4.23 shows that EAL students (all but one on whom were non-white) were moderately more positive than others about primary school [t(37.54)=3.62, p.001,d.58]. Nearly two thirds of EAL students came from the Black/Black British group, and half of the Asian/Asian British students had EAL. In contrast, just one Mixed-Heritage student had EAL. The breakdown in ethnicity level b (Table 4.39) shows the Mixed Heritage group had the least positive attitude to primary school of any non-white group, although it should be noted that none of the pairwise comparisons between ethnicity level b groups were

significant. However, when rating their new secondary school there were no significant between-group differences for ethnicity or EAL for views of teachers and lessons, general rating of the school, or self-assessed behaviour in lessons. And nearly all of these differences remained non-significant in the post-first-year ratings. The only exception was for “Are the teachers good teachers?” (Table 4.42) where the more positive view of EAL students compared to others, initially not significant, grew moderately over the year [t(134)=4.63, p.03,d.58].

There were no significant between-group differences in the ethnicity or EAL categories for students’ assessments of their ability group placements in Maths or English, or for their general satisfaction with their ability groups.

SEN status

SEN students were initially more negative than others about the way other people behaved in lessons [t(153)=2.71, p.007,d.49], but a year later this was not significant (Table 4.42).

Table 4.25 shows that SEN students were moderately less positive about primary school than non-SEN students [t(153)=2.77, p.006,d.5]. However, this difference was not reflected in their initial assessment of secondary school which showed no significant differences between SEN and non-SEN students for initial attitudes to teachers and lessons,

self-assessed behaviour in lessons, or overall rating of the school. And all of these differences continued to be non-significant at the end of the first year. SEN students were initially more negative than others about the way other people behaved in lessons [t(153)=2.71, p.007,d.49], but a year later this was not significant (Table 4.42).

There were no significant differences between SEN students and others for their assessments of ability group placements in Maths or English, or for their general satisfaction with their ability groups.

4.22 Students' Self-Reported Attitudes to School: Socio-Economic categories

FSM status, Parental Occupation, and Economic Capital

There were no significant differences for views on primary school between FSM groups (Table 4.24), parental occupation groups (Table 4.32), or overall economic capital groups (Table 4.31). There were also no significant differences between parental occupation groups or economic capital groups for students' initial ratings of teachers and lessons, self-assessed behaviour in lessons, or the overall rating of their new school. FSM students, too, were little different from others in their initial views of teachers and lessons, and their self-assessed classroom behaviour. However, FSM students were less positive than others in their

overall rating of the school [t(149)=2.67, p.01,d.49], although the difference was only modest.

At the end of the year there were no significant differences between FSM, parental occupation, and economic capital groups for self-reported attitudes to teachers, or for enjoyment of lessons. Nevertheless, there were indications that students from poorer backgrounds were becoming increasingly negative compared to others in the classroom. For attitudes towards lessons there was a moderately large difference [d.69] between the highest and lowest economic capital group [F(2,133)=4.47,p.01] and the highest parental occupation group was more positive about lessons than the other two groups [F(2,133)=3.24,p.05].

The initial self-reported ratings suggested no significant between-group differences in FSM, economic capital, or parental occupation categories for the amount of work done in lessons (Tables 4.42 and 4.43). However, after the first year poorer students reported doing less work in lessons compared to others. There was a large difference [d.84] between the highest and lowest economic capital groups [F(2,133)=6.3,p.002], while for parental occupation [F(2,133)=5.22,p.007] the difference between the highest and lowest groups was moderate [d.63], just as it was between FSM and non-FSM students [t(53.4)=2.73, p.009,d.59]. Poorer students' ratings for self-assessed behaviour in class were also becoming less positive

compared to others. Although the between-group difference for FSM status remained insignificant after the first year, for economic capital [F(2,133)=3.431,p.035] there was a moderate post-first-year difference [d.59] between the highest and lowest groups (Table 4.31) and for parental occupation [F(2,133)=3.56,p.03] there was a similar gap [d.59] between the highest and lowest groups (Table 4.32).

Nevertheless, although FSM students were less positive than others in their overall school rating [t(133)=2.47,p.02,d.48] the modest difference was little different from the initial rating. And, as initially, there were no significant post-first-year differences between economic capital or parental occupation groups for overall school rating.

There were no significant between-group differences in FSM, parental occupation, or economic capital categories for students' assessments of their ability group placements in Maths or English, or for their general satisfaction with their ability groups.

Parental Residence and Parental Contact

Table 4.26 shows that students with a non-resident parent were less positive about primary school than others, but it should be noted that the difference was modest [t(143)=2.07, p.041,d.35]. Also, as Table 4.33 illustrates, the difference between parental contact level groups was not

significant. There were no significant between-group differences for either parental residence or parental contact for all initial attitudes to secondary school ratings.

There were also very few significant between-group differences for either parental residence or parental contact for all post-first-year ratings. For self-assessed behaviour in lessons [F(2,133)=3.65,p.03] students with two resident parents were moderately more positive [d.57] than those with frequent non-resident parental contact. However, the difference between students with two-resident parents and those with infrequent contact was not significant. There was a hint students with a non-resident parent were becoming less positive than others in their view of teachers. Students with non-resident parents rated teachers' 'niceness' more negatively than others [t(134)=2.47, p.02,d.44] albeit with just a modest difference (Table 4.41). Nevertheless, for all other self-reported rating of teachers and lessons both the initial and post-first-year differences were not significant.

There were no significant between-group differences in parental residence or parental contact categories for students' assessments of their ability group placements in Maths or English, or for their general satisfaction with their ability groups.

4.23 Students' Self-Reported Attitudes to School: Cultural Capital

As shown in Table 4.34, there were no significant differences between cultural capital groups for self-reported attitudes to primary school. The same was true for students' initial ratings of teachers and lessons and students' overall rating of the school. For self-assessed classroom behaviour [F(2,135)=4.24,p.02] the highest cultural capital group was the most positive with a moderate difference (d.6) between the highest and lowest groups.

One year on there were no significant post-first year differences for overall school rating or students' view of teachers. However, for views on lessons [F(2,130)=3.45,p.04] the highest cultural capital group was significantly more positive than the lowest group, although the difference was just moderate [d.52]. Nevertheless, there were no post-first-year differences for self-reported views on enjoyment of lessons or the behaviour of other students in lessons. Also, the between-group differences for self-assessed behaviour [F(2,130)=3.72,p.03], had not greatly changed although the difference between the highest and lowest groups [d.54] was marginally smaller than before. But as with the economic, FSM, and parental occupation ratings, the between-group differences for the amount of work done in lessons (Table 4.43), initially non-significant, became moderate [d.61] between the highest and the lowest groups a year later [F(2,130)=4.39,p.01].

There were no significant between-group differences between cultural capital groups for students' assessments of their ability group placements in Maths or English, or for their general satisfaction with their ability groups.

4.24 Students' Self-Reported Attitudes to School: Academic Self-Concept and Initial Attitude to School groups

Academic Self-Concept

There were significant differences between academic self-concept groups [F(2,152)=6,p.003] for students' attitudes to primary school (Table 4.37). The highest academic self-concept group was the most positive, having moderate differences with both the middle [d.56] and lowest [d.59] groups. However, there was no significant difference between the middle and lowest groups.

The academic self-concept category was the only one to have significant between-group differences for most of the initial self-reported attitude to secondary school ratings. For both the teachers and lessons factor score [F(2,152)=6.03,p.01] and the general school rating [F(2,148)=6.28,p.002] there were no significant differences between the highest and middle groups, but the lowest group was less positive than the other groups. For view of teachers and lessons the lowest group

had a moderate difference with the middle group [d.53] and a modest difference with the highest group [d.46]. And for the general school rating the lowest group had moderate differences with the highest [d.69] and the middle [d.5] groups. For initial self-assessed behaviour in lessons [F(2,151)=8.16,p<.001] there was a moderate difference [d.73] between the top and lowest groups, but no significant differences between the top and middle, or middle and lowest groups.

One year on there were no significant between-group differences for students' overall rating of the school. However, the post-first-year changes in teacher ratings suggested some inconsistencies. For the rating of teachers' fairness there were no significant differences either initially or a year later. But for whether the teachers were nice people the initial rating [F(2,153)=7.83,p.001] found a large difference [d.82] between the lowest and middle groups, and a moderate difference [d.52] between the lowest and highest groups. But a year later these differences were not significant. In contrast, the initial ratings on whether the teachers were good at their jobs resulted in no significant differences. But a year later [F(2,133)=3.45,p.04] there was a moderate difference [d.56] between the lowest and highest groups. The three teacher ratings, then, had three contrasting outcomes. Nevertheless, there were no significant differences in the post-first-year overall teacher-rating factor score.

However, negativity towards lessons was associated with lower academic self-concept [F(2,153)=9.6,p<.001] after the first year. There was a large difference [d.94] in views about lessons between the highest and lowest groups, and a moderate difference [d.62] between the highest and middle groups. And there was a similar pattern for self-assessed behaviour in lessons [F(2,133)=7.49,p.001] with a large difference [d.86] between the highest and lowest groups, and a moderate difference [d.59] between the middle and lowest groups. The initial rating for the enjoyment of lessons [F(2,152)=8.32,p<.001] showed the lowest group giving moderately lower ratings than the middle [d.68] and highest [d.67] groups. A year later [F(2,133)=3.83,p.02] there was still a moderate significant difference [d.58] between the lowest and highest groups, but not between the lowest and middle groups. On the other hand, there were no significant between-group differences for students' initial ratings of the amount of work done in lessons. But a year later [F(2,133)=5.91,p.003] there was a moderate-to-large difference [d.72] between the lowest and highest groups. Growing negativity towards lessons from lower academic self-concept students, then, was associated with self-assessed behaviour and the amount of work completed.

There were no significant between-group differences between academic self-concept groups for students' assessments of their ability group placements in Maths or English, or for their general satisfaction with their ability groups.

Initial Attitude to School Groups

Table 4.38 suggests that at the end of the first year in secondary school there were not large between-group differences between the positive, middle, and least positive initial attitude to school groups. However, for attitudes towards teachers [F(2,131)=4.98, p.008] the least positive initial attitude group was moderately [d.63] more negative towards teachers than the most positive group. This came from two ratings. For whether the teachers were nice people [F(2,131)=3.2,p.04] there was a modest difference [d.49] between the most positive and the least positive groups. And for whether the teachers were good at their jobs [F(2,131)=4.41,p.01] there was a moderate difference [d.62] between the most positive and least positive groups. But for teacher fairness, work done in lessons, lesson enjoyment, and self-assessed behaviour in class, there were no significant between-group differences in the post-first-year ratings. And the same applied to students' general rating of the school. Clearly, after a full year in school, the differences in initial-attitudes to school groups were becoming less apparent.

There were no significant between-group differences between initial attitude to school groups for students' assessments of their ability group placements in Maths or English, or for their general satisfaction with their ability groups

4.25 Students' Self-Reported Attitudes to School: Ability Groupings

Students were not in ability sets when the primary school data was collected, but it is interesting to note that there was little difference in attitude to primary school between those who were later put into all-top-sets and other students (Table 4.27), or between the three Maths groups (Table 4.35). However, as Table 4.36 shows, there were significant differences between the English groups [F(3,140)=7.08,p<.001]. There was a clear gulf between the top two and the bottom two groups suggesting that those with the least linguistic ability were least positive about primary school. The pairwise comparisons highlighted large differences between the top and bottom English groups [d=.86], the second and bottom groups [d=1.22], and the second and third groups [d=.78]. However, there were no significant between-group differences for Maths groups, English groups, or All-top-sets/others for any of the initial attitude to secondary school ratings.

One year on there were also no between-group differences in any ability group category for attitudes towards teachers, attitudes towards lessons, or overall rating of the school. For Maths groups and All-top-sets/others there were also no significant differences for self-assessed behaviour. And although the analysis of variance suggested some difference between the English groups [F(3.130)=3.14,p.03], the

pairwise comparisons suggested no significant between-group differences. Overall, then one year on there were few differences between ability groups in their self-reported attitudes towards school.

Although the means for all students suggested that more students felt their set placements were too low than too high [Maths M=-.17,SD=.46; English M=-.15,SD-.4] there were no significant between-group differences for students' self-assessment of their ability group placement or satisfaction with the sets they were in, apart from in categories directly derived from ability groupings (Maths sets, English sets, and all-top-sets/others).

However, when looking at set satisfaction, it was clear that students in all-top-sets (Table 4.27) were considerably happier than others and the [t(133)=3.41,p.001,d.65]. For students' assessment of their English set placement [F(3,131)=5.34,p.002] there were no significant differences between the top three sets. However the small bottom set felt their placement was too low and there were large differences between the bottom set and the top [d.1.19], second [d.1.04], and third [d.88] sets. The differences between English sets regarding Maths set placement [F(3,131)=3.34,p.021] also suggested no significant differences between the top three groups, but the bottom set, again, was the least satisfied. The difference in satisfaction between the top and lowest set was large [d1.24].

The differences between Maths groups for assessment of English set placement [F(2,132)=3.45,p.04] were only significant between the top and lowest groups, and this was only moderate [d.56]. In contrast, there were considerably stronger between-group differences for assessment of Maths set placements [F(2,132)=15.7,p<.001] with the top set being the happiest and the bottom set being least satisfied. The difference between the top and the middle sets was moderate-to-large [d.75], and between the top and bottom set it was very large [d1.43]. It was clear, then, that students were less satisfied with their Maths groups compared to their English groups, and the small bottom English set apart, they were more accepting of their English ability placement than their Maths ability placement.

In terms of overall satisfaction with their ability groups, the analysis of variance suggested differences between the English groups [F(3,131)=3.24,p.02], however the pairwise comparisons produced no significant between-group differences. Nevertheless, there was a linear relationship between satisfaction with sets and English group, with a higher level of satisfaction associated with a higher set. However, the between-group differences for Maths sets [F(2,132)=6.87,p.001] showed the top set as the most satisfied and there was a large difference [d.8] between the top and the bottom Maths groups.

4.26 Students' Self-Reported Attitudes to School: Interaction effects

None of the interactions between factors with significant between-group differences for initial attitudes to school were significant. There were no significant interactions for attitudes towards primary school between any factors that had significant between-group differences. And the same was true for initial attitudes to teachers and lessons in secondary school, and self-assessed behaviour in lessons.

For post-first-year self-reported attitudes the interactions were, again, generally not significant. Indeed, the only significant interaction was for self-assessed behaviour between gender and economic capital [F(2,130)=3.454,p.035]. This suggested that for girls there were no significant between-group differences for economic capital, and that in the top two economic capital groups, there were no significant between-group differences for gender. However in the lowest economic group the gender difference [F(1,40)=11.842,p.001] showed boys [M=2.83,SD=1.2] as assessing their behaviour more negatively than girls [M=4,SD=1.06].

4.3 Initial and Post-first-year Student Academic Self-Concept

4.31 Student Self-reported Academic Self-Concept: student characteristics

Although there were more between-groups differences for initial academic self-concept compared to other initial self-reported ratings, the majority of these differences were no more than moderate. And there were no significant between-group differences for gender, economic capital, and parental contact.

Gender

Although Table 4.21 shows girls having a marginally higher initial academic self-concept than boys for all subjects combined and Maths and English only, in both cases the differences were not significant. One year later the situation remained unchanged.

Ethnicity and EAL

Table 4.22 shows that non-white students had a higher initial academic self-concept compared to white students in all subjects combined [t(154)=2.97, p.003.d.56] and in Maths and English only [t(154)=2.2,

p.03,d.42]. However the differences were no more than moderate. And while EAL students were significantly more positive than others for initial academic self-concept in all subjects [t(154)=1.98, p.05,d.49], for Maths and English only the difference was not significant. Table 4.39 shows that all non-white groups had higher initial academic self-concept scores compared to white students both for all subjects and Maths and English only.

One year later non-white students continued to have significantly higher academic self-concept levels compared to white students. For all subjects the difference grew from moderate to strong [t(134)=4, p<.001,d.8]. However, for Maths and English only the difference remained modest [t(134)=2.3, p.02,d.46]. Although the group sizes for ethnicity level b were too small for reliable analysis, it is worth noting the academic self-concept levels for Mixed-Heritage students, which were broadly similar to those of other non-white groups in the initial ratings, dropped over the year to become very similar to the ratings for white students. EAL students also remained more positive than other students for academic self-concept in all subjects, with the difference growing from moderate to large [t(134)=2.97,p.003,d.8]. However, for Maths and English only the difference remained non-significant.

SEN Status

Table 4.25 shows that SEN students had a lower self-assessed academic self-concept compared to others students. For all subjects [t(154)=2.72, p.007,d.49] the difference was approaching moderate and for Maths and English only [t(154)=2.72, p.001,d.6] it was moderate. However, one year later the difference was broadly the same for Maths and English only [t(134)=2.73, p.007,d.54], but no longer significant for all subjects combined.

4.32 Student Self-reported Academic Self-Concept: socio-economic categories

FSM status, Parental Occupation, and Economic Capital

There were no significant between-group differences for FSM (Table 4.24), parental occupation (Table 4.32), or economic capital (Table 4.31) groups for initial self-assessed academic self-concept in Maths and English only. And there were no large between-group differences for all subjects combined. However, FSM students had a moderately lower academic self-concept than others for all subjects [t(154)=3.01, p.003,d.55]. And for parental occupation [F(2,143)=3.12,p.05] there were modest differences between the highest group and the middle [d.49] and lowest [d.48] groups.

A year later there were no significant between-group differences for academic self-concept in all subjects for FSM, parental occupation, and economic capital groups. However, FSM students were now moderately less confident than others in Maths and English only [t(134)=2.71, p.008,d.53]. And this was reflected in the differences between parental occupation groups [F(2,133)=3.06,p.05] where the highest group was modestly more confident in Maths and English than the middle [d.44] and lower [d.49] groups. Poorer students, then, experienced a slight increase in their comparative confidence in all subjects, but a decrease in their comparative confidence in Maths and English only.

Parental Residence and Parental Contact

Table 4.33 shows that there were no significant differences between parental contact groups, either initially or after one year, for academic self-concept in both Maths and English only and all subjects combined. There was a small initial academic self-concept difference between students with a non-resident parent and others (Table 4.26) for all subjects [t(134.05)=2.11,p.04,d.34]. That apart there were no between-group differences in academic self-concept, either initially or after one year, for parental residence groups.

4.33 Student Self-reported Academic Self-Concept: Cultural Capital Groups

Table 4.34 shows a consistent linear relationship between cultural capital group and academic self-concept showing that higher cultural capital groups were associated with higher the academic self-concept scores. However, it should be noted that with a single exception, between-group differences were not significant either initially or one year later. The exception was the initial rating for all subjects [F(2,137)=3.96,p.02] where there was a moderate difference [d.54] between the highest and lowest groups.

4.34 Student Self-reported Academic Self-Concept: Initial Academic Self-concept and Initial Attitude to School groups

Students in the lowest Initial Attitude to School group also had the lowest initial academic self-concept scores (Table 4.38). For initial academic self-concept in all subjects [F(2,151)=6.48,p.002] the lowest Initial Attitude group had moderate differences with both the highest [d.64] and middle [d.57] groups. And for Maths and English only [F(2,151)=4.25,p.02] the difference between the lowest and top groups [d.5] was moderate. However, by the end of the year there were no significant differences between Initial Attitude to School groups for academic self-concept in all subjects. Nevertheless, for Maths and

English only [F(2,131=4.42,p.014] the lowest Initial Attitude group had lower academic self-concept than the top [d.59] and the middle [d.49] groups.

Students starting secondary school with lower academic self-concept than others continued to have the lowest academic self-concept one year later (Table 4.37). For all subjects [F(2,133)=9.96,p<.001] the difference between the highest and lowest initial academic self-concept group was very large [d.1.05]. And for post-first-year Maths and English only [F(2,133)=5.2,p=.007] the difference between the highest and lowest group [d.71] was moderate-to-large. This suggests, then, that academic self-concept differentials did not change greatly over student's first year in school.

4.35 Student Self-reported Academic Self-Concept: Ability Groups

Table 4.27 shows that while students in all-top-sets had higher initial academic self-concept score than other students, the difference was only significant for Maths and English only [t(150)=3.24,p.001,d.59]. One year later, the difference for all subjects remained non-significant. However, all-top-set students continued to be more confident than others in Maths and English only [t(133)=4.5, p<.001,d.85] and the difference was much larger than a year earlier.

Maths sets (Table 4.35) followed a similar pattern to all-top-sets/others with no significant initial differences for all subjects, but a moderate-to-large difference [d.75] between the top and bottom groups for Maths and English only [F(2,142)=6.41,p.002]. One year on the between-group differences for Maths sets for Maths and English only [F(2,132)=12,p<.001] increased, with a very large difference [d1.1] between the top and bottom groups, and a moderate difference [d.69] between the top and middle groups. However, as with all-top-sets/others, there were no significant between-group differences for academic self-concept in all subjects.

English ability groups (Table 4.36) followed a different pattern. The initial differences between English sets for all subjects [F(3,141)=5.38,p=.002] suggested a clear divide between the upper and lower groups, with no significant differences between either the top two, or the bottom two sets. However, there were moderate differences between set three and both the top [d.7] and second [d.67] sets. And the difference between the bottom set and the top set was large [d.81]. However, for Maths and English only [F(3,141)=8.38, p<.001] there were no significant differences between the top three sets, but large differences between the small bottom set and sets one [d1.35], two [d.97], and three [d.97]. A year later the between-group differences for academic self-concept in all subjects [F(3,131)=3.7,p.01] decreased compared to the initial ratings, with no significant differences between the top three sets. However, significant differences remained between the small bottom set

and the top [d.73] and second [d.97] sets. The differences for Maths and English only [F(1,131)=8.42,p<.001] did not change greatly from the initial ratings, although there was now a moderate difference [d.63] between the top and third sets. But the differences between the top and bottom groups [d1.31] and the second and bottom groups [d1.05] were similar to the initial ratings.

4.36 Student Self-reported Academic Self-Concept: Interactions

All the two-way interactions between variables with significant between-group differences for initial academic self-concept (all subjects and Maths and English only) were non-significant. With one exception, the same was true for post-first-year academic self-concept. This suggests, then, that generally the variables were acting independently.

The exception was the significant interaction between Ethnicity level a and all-top-sets/others [F(1,131)=4.06,p.05] for post-first-year Maths and English academic self-concept. White students in all-top-sets [M=4.02,SD=.83] had a significantly higher Maths and English academic self-concept than other white students [M=3.18,SD=.74] [F(1,100)=27.93,p<.001]. But for non-white students there was no significant difference.

4.4 Initial and End-of-Year Practitioner Ratings

This section will consider initial and end-of-year practitioner ratings for teacher-perceived motivation. It will also consider students initial ability group placements, form tutor conformity to ethos ratings, pastoral practitioner ratings on social competence and school attitude, attendance data, aggregate classroom behaviour referrals, and time spent in detention.

4.41 Initial and End-of-Year Practitioner Ratings: student characteristics

Gender

Table 4.21 shows that in their initial motivation ratings teachers saw girls as more motivated than boys and the difference was very large [t(123.9)=7.04, p<.001,d1.13]. And the end-of-year teacher-perceived motivation grades saw this difference maintained [t(98.07)=7.33, p<.001,d1.18]. Girls, according to their teachers, were consistently far more motivated in the classroom than boys. This perceived negativity of boys was also reflected in the moderate-to-strong difference in classroom referrals [t(87.24)=4.73, p<.001,d.76] with boys over four times as likely to be referred than girls. Similarly, boys had nearly four times as much detention time as girls [t(94.69)=3.33, p.001,d.53].

Given the above it is not uprising that form tutors saw girls as having a much higher level of conformity to the school ethos compared to boys [t(142.03)=5.23, p<.001,d.85]. Additionally, pastoral staff perceived girls as better able to relate to staff [t(154)=3.79, p,.001,d.52] and having a more positive attitude to school [t(154)=3.63, p<.001,d.59] compared to boys. As expected, then, the combined pastoral/classroom practitioner factor score [t(125.32)=5.29, p<.001,d.85] suggested that girls were considerably more positively viewed by practitioners compared to boys. However, it should be noted that although this applied in students interactions within the classroom, conformity levels, and relations with staff, it did not reflect how practitioners' perceptions of students' social competence within the wider arena of the school. Indeed, there were no significant gender differences for the practitioner-perceived Social Competence in School factor score.

Practitioners' positive view of girls compared to boys was only partly reflected in students' ability group placement. Certainly with girls more highly placed than boys in English sets and the difference was fairly large [t(138.3)=4.68, p<.001,d.78]. For Maths, on the other hand, there was no significant gender difference in set placement.

Ethnicity and EAL

Table 4.23 shows that there were no significant differences between EAL students and others for any practitioner-perceived ratings. And as Table 4.22 shows, with one exception, the same applied to white and non-white students. The exception was time spent in detention [t(39.04)=2.1, p.042,d.61] with non-white students having over three times as much detention time as white students. The figures at ethnicity level b (Table 4.39) show that the largest difference was between Mixed-Heritage and white students and the difference was very large [d1.59]. Nevertheless, the Black/Black British group also spent considerably more time in detention than white students.

SEN Status

Within the classroom students with SEN were seen by teachers as less motivated than others. Initially the difference was moderate-to-large [t(154)=4.03, p<.001,d.73]. However at the end of the year the difference had decreased in size [t(154)=3.19, p.002,d.58]. And the difference for classroom behaviour referrals [t(58.43)=2.23, p.03,d.47] was modest. Nevertheless, SEN students were over twice as likely as others to get classroom referrals. However, in the wider school, there was no significant difference between SEN students and others for time spent in detention. Certainly, SEN students were far less likely than other students to be placed in higher ability groups. For both Maths set placement [t(143)=6.11, p<.001,d1.12] and English set placement

[t(143)=9.08,p<.001,d1.71] the difference between SEN students and others was very large indeed.

Getting on with staff was seen as problematic for SEN students compared to their non-SEN peers. There was a large significant difference [t(154)=4.49, p<.001,d.81] for relationships with staff. SEN students were seen as having a less positive attitude than others students [t(154)=2.98, p.003,d.54] and less likely than others to conform to the school ethos [t(154)=3.54, p.001,d.64]. However, the largest practitioner-perceived difference between SEN students and others was for social competence in school [t(63.06)=5.13, p<.001,d1.03] suggesting that SEN students were seen as considerably less able than others to relate positively to peers and adults within the school environment. Overall, the difference for the combined classroom and pastoral practitioner factor score [t(154)=3.37, p.001,d.61] showed SEN students as moderately less positively viewed by practitioners compared to others.

4.42 Initial and End-of-Year Practitioner Ratings: socio-economic groups

FSM status, Parental Occupation, and Economic Capital

The initial teacher-perceived motivation grades suggested that poorer students were likely to be seen as less motivated in the classroom

compared to students from better-off backgrounds. Although Table 4.32 shows no significant differences between parental occupation groups, FSM students (Table 4.24) were seen as less motivated than others [t(55.95)=2.8, p.007,d.6]. And, as seen in Table 4.31, there were differences between the overall economic capital groups [F(2,142)=7.22,p.001] with the poorest group seen as less motivated than both the middle [d.47] and the highest groups [d.68]. Although these differences were no more than moderate, they had grown by the end of the year. The difference between FSM and non-FSM students for end-of-year motivation [t(54.64)=3.35, p.001,d.74] increased to approaching strong. There was also a moderate difference [d.65] between the highest and lowest parental jobs group [F(2,143)=5.47,p.005] and a large difference [d.82] between the lowest and highest overall economic capital groups [F(2,142)=9.35,p<.001]. The gap in teacher-perceived motivation between richer and poorer background students, then, was growing.

Poorer students were also perceived as having more behavioural issues than better off students. The differences in classroom behaviour referrals between economic capital groups [F(2,142)=9.55,p<.001] saw a large difference [d.8] between the highest and lowest group, with the lowest group over five times more likely to be referred than the highest group and over twice as likely to be referred than the middle group. Similarly FSM students were over three times as likely to be referred as non-FSM students [t(47)=3.17, p<.001,d.78], and for parental

occupation [F(1,134)=4.91,p.009] the lowest group had over four times the number of referrals than the highest group. Although the differences were slightly smaller for detentions, the pattern was similar. For parental occupation [F(2,143)=4.02,p.02] the lowest group had five times more detention time than the highest group [d.5]. FSM students had nearly three times the amount of detention time than non-FSM students [t(48.66)=2.4, p.02,d.58]. And the difference between economic capital groups [F(2,142)=7.644,p.001] was similar, with the lowest group having over five times more detention time than the highest group [d.65].

Poorer students were also likely to be placed in lower ability groups compared to better-off students, particularly for English. The differences for parental occupation groups [F(2,141)=5.61,p.005] indicated that students in the highest occupation group were likely to be in higher English sets than other students (Table 4.32) with moderate differences between the top and both the middle [d.62] and lowest groups [d.64]. And as seen in Table 4.31, the economic capital group differences [F(2,141)=7.19,p.001] showed the poorest group students as more likely than others to be in a low English group with a moderate-to-large difference [d.73] with the highest group. FSM students, too, were less highly placed than non-FSM peers [t(143)=3.39, p.001,d.63]. For Maths, on the other hand, there were no significant between-group differences in placement for FSM status or parental occupation. The highest economic capital group was more highly placed than the lowest group [F(2,141)=3.3,p.04] but the difference was no more than moderate

[d.51]. So while coming from a poorer background was associated with lower set placement in English, the association between Maths placement and poverty was much less apparent.

However, poorer students were perceived by staff as less socially competent and less in tune with the school ethos compared to others. Differences between economic capital groups for teachers' perceptions of conformity to ethos [F(2,142)=13.49,p<.001] were very large [d1.04] between the highest and lowest groups, and moderate-to-large [d.71] between the middle and lowest groups. In each case, students from better-off backgrounds were seen as conforming more to school values.

Poorer students were also seen as having a less positive attitude to school [F(2,142)=13.47,p<.001]. Again, there was a very large difference [d1.09] between the highest and the lowest groups, and a moderate difference [d.64] between the highest and middle groups. And although differences for relationships with staff were slightly smaller [F(2,142)=7.42,p.001] poorer students were still seen as having the less good relationships than better-off peers with moderate differences between the highest and the lowest groups [d.75] and the highest and middle groups [d.6]. The figures for FSM students confirm the economic capital outcomes. FSM students were seen as less conforming to ethos than others [t(154)=4.17,p<.001,d.76], having a less positive attitude to school [t(154)=3.7,p<.001,d.67], and having poorer relationships with staff [t(154)=3.72,p<.001,d.67]. Students from poorer backgrounds,

then, were seen by practitioners as less positive than better-off students.

The picture was similar for parental occupation. For conformity to ethos [F(2,143)=21.25,P<.001] there was a large difference [d.91] showing that the highest group was perceived as more in tune with school values compared to the lowest group. And there was a moderate-to-large difference [d.75] between the highest and middle groups. The differences for positive attitude-to-school [F(2.143)=12.37,p<.001] were, again, large with the highest parental occupation group seen as more positive than both the lowest [d1.06] and middle [d.7] groups. The top group was also seen as having better relationships with staff than others [F(2,143)=6,79,p.002] with a moderate-to-strong difference [d.77] between the highest and lowest groups.

It was clear, then, that poorer background children were more negatively viewed by practitioners compared to better-off children both in the classroom and in the wider school environment. And this is reflected in the between-group differences in the combined pastoral and classroom based factor scores. For economic capital groups [F(2,142)=13.99,p<.001] there was a very large difference [d1.01] between the highest and lowest groups, and a moderate [d.67] difference between the highest and middle groups. Similarly, FSM students had more negative outcomes than others and the difference was large [t(55.3)=4.07, p<.001,d.88]. And for parental occupation

groups [F(2,143)=9.38,p<.001] there was a moderate-to-strong difference [d.74] between the highest and the lowest groups and a moderate difference [d.55] between the highest and middle groups. A link between socio-economic status and negative or positive practitioner perception was, then, clearly established.

Parental Residence and Parental Contact

There were no significant between-group differences for initial teacher-perceived motivation for parental residence or parental contact. However, as Table 4.26 shows, at the end of the first year, students with a non-resident parent were seen by teachers as less motivated than others [t(144)=2.9 p.004,d.49] but the difference was small. And although students with a non-resident parent were twice as likely as others to be given a classroom referral, the difference was again modest [t(108.01)=2.18, p.03,d.38]. The end-of-year teacher-perceived motivation differences between parental contact groups [F(2,142)=4.32,p.015] were only significant between the frequent contact and the two-resident parent groups (Table 4.33), and this difference was moderate [d.59]. However, there were no significant differences between parental contact groups for classroom referrals. There were not, then, large differences between parental residence and parental contact groups in the way they were perceived in the classroom. Nevertheless, there were signs that students from single-

parent families were beginning to be more negatively viewed than others.

The detention outcomes suggest that students with a non-resident parent were beginning to have more behavioural issues than others in the wider school environment. Students with a non-resident parent spent over three times as much time id detention than those with two resident parents [t(79.37)=2.29, p.005,d.53]. And for parental contact [F(2,142)=4.37,p.01] students with two-resident parents had less detention time than the infrequent contact group [d.69].

Certainly, Tables 4.26 suggests that practitioners viewed students with a non-resident parent more negatively than others, but this negativity was located predominantly in social skills and conformity rather than in the classroom. Students with a non-resident parent were perceived by form tutors as conforming less to school ethos compared to others [t(144)=4.14, p,.001,d.69] and pastoral practitioners suggested they had poorer relationships with staff [t(144)=3.68,p<.001,d.62] and a less positive attitude to school [t(144)=3.94,p<.001,d.67]. However, when looking at parental contact (Table 4.33), it was the non-resident/frequent contact group that was seen as the most negative. For conformity to ethos [F(2,142)=8.23,p<.001] the difference between the two-parent and frequent contact groups was approaching strong [d.79]. And the differences were similar for both staff relationships

[F(2,142)=7.11,p<.001] [d.78] and having a positive attitude to school [F(2,142)=7.47,p,.001] [d.75].

Interestingly, the between-group differences for the social competence factor scores (with more of an emphasis on peer-to-peer relationships) are smaller than the conformity, staff relationships, and positivity ratings. For parental residence [t(144)=2.59, p.01,d.43] the difference between those with a non-resident parent and others was small. And although the analysis of variance for parental contact suggested between-group differences [F(2,142)=3.48,p.03], the pairwise comparisons found no significant differences between groups.

The combined pastoral and classroom-based practitioner-perceived factor scores certainly reflect the fact that between-group differences for parental proximity, although significant, were smaller than the economic capital differences. Nevertheless, students living with both parents were more positively perceived by practitioners than those with a non-resident parent [t(144)=3.85, p<.001,d.67]. And this was reflected in the parental contact groups [F(2,142)=6.81,p.001] where the two parent group had significantly more positive outcomes than both the non-resident/frequent contact [d.72] and non-resident/infrequent contact [M=-.2261,SD=1.12] [d.54] groups.

4.43 Initial and End-of-Year Practitioner Ratings: Cultural Capital Groups

As Table 4.34 shows, the differences between cultural capital groups for initial teacher-perceived motivation [F(2,137)=18.42,p<.001] were considerably larger than between economic capital groups. Those with more cultural capital were seen by their teachers as more motivated than those with less cultural capital. Furthermore, there were significant differences between all of the groups and these were very large [d 1.57] between the highest and the lowest groups, moderate-to-large [d.78] between the middle and lowest groups, and large [d.88] between the highest and middle groups. One year on the cultural capital between-group differences had grown [F=2,137)=28.82,p<.001]. There was a very large difference [d1.57] between the highest and the lowest groups, and a large difference [d.88] between the highest and middle groups and a moderate-to-large difference [d.78] between the middle and lowest groups. There was, then, a strong link between cultural capital and initial teacher-perceived motivation which remained, and indeed strengthened, over the year.

The between-group differences in perceived motivation were reflected in the differences in students' classroom behaviour referrals [F(2,137)=9.47,p<.001] with a large difference [d.96] between the highest and lowest groups. In fact, students in the highest group had a lower number of referrals than any other group in any category, and

they were nine times less likely to be referred than students in the lowest cultural capital group. However, the differences were somewhat less marked for time spent in detention [F(2,137)=3.76,p.03] with just a moderate-to-strong difference [d.78] between the lowest and highest groups.

Nevertheless, practitioners' perceptions of conformity, attitude, and relationships with staff resulted in considerable differences between cultural capital groups. It was absolutely clear that there was a very strong association between a student's cultural capital and the way their attitudes were perceived by practitioners: the higher the capital, the more positive the perception of the student. For conformity to ethos [F(2,137)=19.58,p<.001] there was a very large difference [d1.3] between the highest and lowest groups, a large difference [d.84] between the highest and middle groups, and a moderate difference [d.51] between the middle and lowest groups. For relationships with staff [F(2,137)=12.98,p<.001] the differences were extremely large [d1.09] between the highest and lowest groups, and moderate between the highest and middle [d.55] and middle and lowest [d.52] groups. Similarly, for positive attitude to school [F(2,137)=24.97,p<.001] there were very large differences between the highest group and both the middle [d1.07] and lowest [d1.56] groups.

The link between higher cultural capital levels and positive practitioner perception, both within the classroom and in the wider school

environment, was reflected in the combined pastoral and classroom-based practitioner-perceived factor scores. There were significant differences between all cultural capital groups [F(2,137)=23.18,p<.001]. And these differences were very large [d1.51] between the highest and lowest groups, large [d.8] between the highest and middle groups, and moderate [d.65] between the middle and lowest groups. However, it should be noted that for the social competence factor score (reflecting peer-to-peer relationships) there were no significant differences between cultural capital groups.

4.44 Initial and End-of-Year Practitioner Ratings: Initial Academic Self-Concept and Attitude to School Groups

Tables 4.37 and 4.38 show that there were no significant between-group differences for initial teacher-perceived motivation in both initial academic self-concept and initial attitude to school categories. There were also no significant differences in either category for classroom behaviour referrals or detentions. Nevertheless, there were signs in the end-of-year motivation grade that students with lower academic self-concept were becoming more negatively perceived by teachers than others [F(2,153)=4.28,p.02] with the lowest group perceived as moderately less motivated [d.56] than the highest group. And there was a similar finding for initial attitude-to-school groups [F(2,151)=5.63,p.004] with moderate between-group differences

between the least positive group and the most positive [d.56] and middle [d.51] groups.

Nevertheless, outside the classroom there were no significant differences between academic self-concept groups for practitioner-perceived attitude to school, conformity to school ethos, or peer-related social competence. However, for relationships with staff [F(2,153)=4.69,p.01] the highest group were seen as being more positive than the lowest [d.61]. There were no significant differences between initial attitude to school groups for practitioner-perceived attitude to school or peer-related social competence. And for conformity to ethos [F(2,151)=6,p.003] there was only a very small difference [d.26] suggesting the lowest group was more positive than the middle group, along with a similar modest difference [d.48] for relationships with staff [F(2,151)=3.72,p.03].

The rather small overall differences for both categories are reflected in the combined pastoral and classroom-based practitioner-perceived factor scores. For initial academic self-concept groups [F(2,153)=4.09,p.02] there was a just a moderate difference [d.56] between the most positive and least positive] groups. And for initial-attitude groups [F(2,151)=4.91,p.009] it was the middle group that had the most positive practitioner-perceived outcomes, with a moderate difference [d.57] between the middle and least positive groups.

4.45 Initial and End-of-Year Practitioner Ratings: Ability groups

Table 4.27 shows that students in all-top-sets were initially seen by teachers as considerably more motivated than other students [t(111.5)=4.94,p<.001, d.78] even though they had not been put into ability groups when the initial grades were awarded. By the end of the year there was little change in this difference [t(124)=4.73,p<.001,d.77]. However, Tables 4.35 and 4.36 illustrate that between-group differences were bigger for English groups than for Maths groups.

The differences between the English ability groups [F(3,141)=14.5,p<.001] suggested the possibility of a relationship between linguistic competence and initial teacher-perceived motivation, with students in higher English set perceived by teachers as the most motivated. There seemed to be a gulf between the top two groups and the bottom two groups. There was no significant difference between the top two groups, but there were very large differences between the top and the third groups [d 1.14], the top and bottom groups [d 1.62], and the second and bottom groups [d.89], and a moderate difference [d.58] between the second and third groups. However, the differences between Maths groups [F(2,142)=4.49,p.01] were a much smaller, with only a single significant difference [d.48] between the top and the bottom groups.

One year on the pattern was little changed. Once again, the between-group differences for English sets [F(3,141)=11.8,p<.001] highlighted a divide between those students in the top two and bottom two sets, with higher set students seen as more highly motivated. There were very large differences between the top and third sets [d1.14], and the top and bottom sets [d1.62], a large difference [d.89] between the second and bottom sets, and a moderate t difference [d.58] between the second and third sets. But for Maths sets [F(2,142)=3.38,p.04) there was, again, only one significant difference, a modest one [d.48] between the top and middle sets.

The classroom behaviour referrals and detention figures suggest that practitioners' perceptions of behaviour did not reflect their perceptions of student motivation. For classroom referrals [F(3,141)=4.17,p.007] the only significant between-group difference for English was a moderate one [d.7] between the top and third sets. However, it is worth noting that students in the bottom two sets received over three times as many referrals as top set students. There were no significant differences in classroom referrals between Maths groups, and no significant differences between Maths or English groups for detentions.

There were considerable differences between ability groups for practitioners' perception of conformity to ethos, attitude to school, and ability to relate to staff. Indeed, the differences between all-top-set students and others (Table 4.27) were all moderate or strong.

Compared to others students, the forty-three all-top-set students were seen as more in-tune with the school ethos [t(150)=3.81, p<.001,d.7], better able to relate to staff [t(150)=3.38,p.001,d.62] and having a more positive attitude to school [t(150)=4.29, p<.001,d.8]. But again, the differences tended to be larger between English groups than between Maths groups.

The top sets in both Maths (Table 4.35) and English (Table 4.36) had the highest ratings for staff relationships, positive attitude, and conformity to ethos. But while, for English, there was a consistent linear pattern from the top to the bottom groups, this was not the case in Maths. For relationships with staff [F(2,142)=4,p.02] the bottom maths set had the lowest rating, although the difference between the bottom and top sets only moderate [d.58]. However, for positive attitude-to-school [F=(2,142)=8.97,p<.001] there was a large difference [d.84] between the top and middle sets, but a moderate difference [d.6] between the top and bottom sets. For conformity to ethos [F(2,142)=6.36,p.003] the difference between the top and middle sets [d.66] was, again, larger than the difference between the top and bottom sets [d.57].

Although the top English set was rated as most positive for staff relationships, positive attitude, and conformity to ethos (Table 4.35), there were no significant differences between the top and second sets. For conformity to ethos [F(3,141)=7.4,p<.001] there were large

significant differences between the top and both the third [d.82] and bottom [d1.16] sets. And there was a similar pattern for positive attitude [F(3,141)=8.57,p<.001] with large differences between the top and both the third [1.02] and bottom [d1.15] sets. For relationships with staff [F(3,141)=7.28,p<.001] there was a moderate-to-strong significant difference [d.74] between the top and the third sets, and large differences between the bottom set and both the top [d1.11] and second [d.89] sets. As with teacher-perceived motivation, then, there appeared to be a gulf between the top two sets and the bottom two sets.

As might be expected, there were larger differences between English groups compared to Maths groups for the combined pastoral and classroom-based practitioner-perceived factor scores. For English sets [F(3.14)=8.74,p<.001] there was a large gap between the top set and both the third [d.93] and bottom [[d1.23] sets. However, there were no significant differences between the second set and any other sets. And for Maths sets [F(2.142)=5.29,p.006] there was just a moderate difference [d.58] between the top and middle sets.

4.46 Initial and End-of-Year Practitioner Ratings: Interactions

Motivation / attitude to school

Most of the interactions between factors for initial teacher-perceived motivation were not significant. However, there was a significant

interaction between gender and economic capital group [F(2,139)=4.65,p.011] and between gender and FSM [F(1,152)=5.23,p.024]. The simple main effects test showed that for girls neither economic capital group, nor FSM status, made any significant difference to teacher-perceived motivation. But for boys and economic capital groups [F(2,72)=12.01,p<.001] it was clear that better-off boys were seen as more motivated than less well-off boys. Indeed, there was a very large difference [d 1.1] between highest [M=5.34,SD=.27] and lowest [M=5,SD=.37] groups, and moderate differences between the highest and middle [M=5.2,SD=.21] groups [d.62], and middle and lowest groups [d.68]. Similarly, for boys and FSM status [F(1,77)=14.11,p<.001] the gap between FSM boys [M=4.99,SD=.38] and non-FSM boys [M=5.23,SD=.29] was moderate-to-large [d.77].

The significant interaction between gender and economic capital categories [F(2,139)=5.69,p.004] for the end-of-year combined pastoral/classroom practitioner factor score followed a similar pattern to initial teacher-perceived motivation. The simple main effects showed that for girls, the differences between economic capital groups were not significant. However, for boys they were highly significant [F(2,72)=20.08,p<.001] with boys from better-off backgrounds, again, viewed more positively than less well-off boys. There was a very large difference [d1.5] between the highest [M=.37,SD=.62] and lowest [M=-1.1,SD=1.23] groups, and a large difference [d.89] between the middle [M=-.23,SD=.91] and lowest groups, with an approaching large

difference [d.79] between the highest and middle groups. Clearly, then, lower economic capital was linked with negative combined pastoral/classroom outcomes for boys, but not for girls.

The interaction between cultural capital and academic self-concept categories [F(4,131)=5.02,p.001] showed that academic self-concept made no significant impact on the combined pastoral/classroom outcomes for those in the highest cultural capital group. Nevertheless, academic self-concept did have an impact on the middle [F(2,45)=3.67,p.03] and lowest [F(2,43)=12.38,p<.001] cultural capital groups, where lower academic self-concept students were more likely than others to be negatively viewed by practitioners. However there were significant differences between cultural capital groups within all academic self-concept groups [lowest F(2,43)=21.71,p<.001; middle F(2,45)=6.21,p.003; highest F(2,49)=4.72,p.01] suggesting that students with higher cultural capital were more positively viewed by practitioners compared to those with lower cultural capital levels.

Ability Group Placements

For Maths set placement the interaction between economic and cultural capital groups was significant [F(4,130)=2.63,p.04]. The simple main effects analysis showed no significant differences between economic capital groups within the top two cultural capital groups. But in the lowest cultural capital group the six students in highest economic group had a

significantly higher mean Maths set placement [M=1.33,SD=.52] than those in lowest economic group [M=2.29 SD=.75], and the difference was vary large [d1.33].

The interaction between cultural and economic capital categories for English set placement, as with Maths, was significant [F(4,130)=3.39,p.01]. And once again, the simple main effects analysis showed no significant differences between economic capital groups within the top two cultural capital groups. But in the lowest cultural capital group students in lowest economic group [M=3,SD=.89] had a significantly lower English set placement than both the middle [M=2.18,SD=.81] and top [M=1.83,SD=.98] economic groups, and the differences (d.98 and d1.34 respectively) were large. For both Maths and English, then, coming from a better-off or poorer background only resulted in significant differences in set placement for students in the lowest cultural capital group.

4.5 Summary of Students' Self-Reported Attitudes and Practitioner Perceptions

Students' Self-reported Attitudes to School

Overall, it is fair to say that there were relatively few between-group differences in students' self-reported attitudes to primary school, initial and post-first year attitudes to secondary school, and views on their

ability groups. And where significant differences did occur they were generally no more than moderate.

Students with a non-resident parent, SEN students, students in lower academic self-concept groups, and students in lower English sets were moderately less positive about their primary school experience compared to others. EAL students, on the other hand, were more positive than others about primary school. But there were no significant between-group differences for gender, ethnicity, FSM, parental occupation, economic capital, cultural capital, or Maths ability groups.

In their initial overall assessments of their new school, FSM students and lower academic self-concept students were somewhat less positive than others, but the differences, again, were no more than moderate. For all other groups there were no significant differences in their initial overall ratings of the school. Similarly, although girls and higher academic self-concept students were slightly more positive than others about their teachers and lessons, there were no significant differences between other groups. Boys, students in lower cultural capital groups, and students in lower academic self-concept groups were also somewhat more negative in their self-assessment of their classroom behaviour compared to others. But for all other categories the differences were not significant. Generally speaking, then, academic self-concept was the only category with consistent between-group differences for initial self-reported attitudes,

with lower academic self-concept being associated with a more negative initial self-reported view of school.

One year later the follow-up attitudinal questionnaire suggested little change in between-group differences for students' self-reported attitudes to school. However, as highlighted by the factor analysis, some students were now differentiating between their views on teachers and their views on lessons. The only significant difference in any category for attitude towards teachers factor score was in the Initial Attitude to School group, where those in the least positive group were also moderately less positive than others about their teachers. However, lower cultural capital, lower parental occupation, lower economic capital, and lower academic self-concept groups were less positive than others about the quality of their lessons. Nevertheless, with the single exception of FSM students, there were no between-group differences for students' overall rating of the school. There was, however, a slight change in students' self-assessment of their classroom behaviour. Girls and high cultural capital students remained more positive about their behaviour than others, while low academic self-concept students no longer rated themselves more negatively than others. On the other hand, students with a non-resident parent, and students from poorer backgrounds were beginning to rate their behaviour less positively compared to others. However, overall the between-group differences for self-assessed attitudes to school remained generally small.

Self-Assessed attitude to Ability Groups

There were no significant between-group differences on attitudes to ability group placement or satisfaction with ability groups in any categories with the exception of those directly drawn from ability group placements (all-top-sets/others, Maths groups, and English groups).

Generally students were far more likely to feel their sets were too low rather than too high. Certainly, students in all-top-sets were more satisfied than others with their ability group placements. Students who were not in all-top-sets were particularly dissatisfied with their Maths set level (seeing it as too low) but seemed to accept their English set level. And this was reflected in English ability group differences where there were no significant differences in satisfaction with English set placement between the top three groups. However, students in the small bottom group were extremely dissatisfied with their English placement, feeling it was too low.

In contrast, compared to the top Maths set, the middle and lower Maths groups were very dissatisfied with their Maths set placement, with the bottom group being the least satisfied of all. Both the middle and lower groups felt that their placements were too low.

Self-Reported Academic Self-Concept

There were no significant gender differences, either initially or post-first-year, for either academic self-concept rating. Similarly, there were no between-group differences for parental contact and, with the exception of a very small difference for the initial rating for all subjects, there were no differences for parental residence. Cultural capital groups, too, yielded no between-group differences apart from a moderate difference between the top and lowest group for the initial all subjects rating.

Ethnicity, on the other hand, produced significant differences showing non-white students having a higher academic self-concept than white students in both ratings and both initially and after one year. Indeed, for all subjects the initial moderate difference became strong after the first year. EAL students also had a more positive initial academic self-concept than others for all subjects, and the difference grew one year on, although there were no differences between EAL students and others for Maths and English only.

Generally speaking the differences for academic self-concept between economic capital, FSM, and parental occupation groups were on the small side. However, there was a change in emphasis over time. Initially there were no significant differences for academic self-concept in Maths and English only, but some moderate differences for all subjects suggesting poorer students had a lower academic self-concept than others. But a year later there were no significant differences for all

subjects combined, but some moderate differences suggesting poorer students were less confident than others in Maths and English only. And there was a similar reversal for Initial Attitude to School groups, where initially students in the most negative group had a poorer self-concept than others in all subjects, but a year later they had a poorer self-concept in Maths and English only.

Students in all-top-sets were not significantly more confident than others in all subjects both initially and after a year. However, they initially had moderately more confidence in Maths and English only, and this difference became large a year later. And this pattern was repeated for the between-group differences for both Maths sets and English sets.

Practitioner Perceptions of Students

Generally the sizes of the between-group differences in practitioners' perceptions of students were considerably larger than the differences perceived by students themselves. Girls, students with high cultural capital, students from better-off backgrounds, and those in higher ability groups were all perceived far more positively compared to other students.

Within the classroom the initial motivation grades suggested teachers saw girls as more motivated than boys, and students in the high cultural capital group as more motivated than those in the middle and lower groups. The differences were large and, what is more, they were

repeated at the end of the year. Similarly, students who would be placed in higher ability groups, particularly for English, were also initially identified as having higher classroom motivation than others, and these moderate-to-large differences, too, were repeated at the end of the year. Poorer students, on the other hand, were initially seen as moderately less motivated than others, but by the end of the year this difference had grown. And these differences were reflected in classroom behaviour referrals, where boys, poorer students, and students in lower cultural capital groups had considerably more behaviour referrals compared to other students. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that girls, students from better-off backgrounds, and students with high cultural capital were also considerably more likely than others to be placed in higher ability sets, particularly for English.

It is worth noting that the between-group differences for detention time, which reflected behaviour in the wider school context rather than just the classroom, were generally a lot smaller than the differences for classroom referrals. Nevertheless, one point concerning detentions needs to be made: it was the only practitioner generated rating where non-white students performed significantly less positively than white students. However, this was partly due to the extremely high number of detentions received by the Mixed-Heritage group, although the Black/Black British students also spent more time in detention compared to white students. For all other practitioner ratings there were no significant differences between white and non-white students.

SEN students had moderately lower teacher-perceived motivation than others, both initially and the end of the year, and they had moderately more classroom referrals than others. But again, the difference for detentions was not significant. However SEN students were perceived as less positive and less in-tune with school ethos compared to non-SEN students, and they were seen as finding it difficult to sustain good relationships with staff. This difficulty with relationships also extended to interactions with their peers. In fact, pastoral practitioners perceived a very large difference between SEN students and others in social competence around the school.

However students in the lower academic self-concept group, who were generally more negative than others in their self-reported attitudes, were not perceived by practitioners to be significantly less positive towards school, less in tune with school ethos, or less socially competent compared to others. Nevertheless, there were some indications that lower academic self-concept students related less well to staff compared to others. Also, the lower group's classroom motivation, initially not significantly different from others, was perceived as moderately less positive than others by the end of the year.

As with classroom-based outcomes, the largest practitioner-perceived between-group differences in the wider school were in gender, cultural capital, socio-economic, and ability grouping categories. Boys, lower

cultural capital students, poorer students, students in lower ability groups (particularly English sets), and students with a non-resident parent were seen by practitioners as conforming less to the ethos of the school, relating less well to staff, and having a less positive attitude to school compared to other students. There were large differences between cultural capital groups for all of these ratings. For both economic capital and English ability group categories there were large between-group differences for ethos and attitude to school ratings, but the differences were less marked for relationships with staff, while for gender the largest difference was for conformity to ethos.

Given the above, it is unsurprising, then that the combined classroom/pastoral practitioner-perceived factor scores suggested that boys, lower cultural capital students, poorer students, students in lower English groups were negatively perceived compared to other students and the between-group differences were large. However the interactions between gender and economic capital groups suggested that while for boys there were large combined classroom/pastoral practitioner-perceived factor between-group differences for economic capital, for girls between-group differences for economic capital were not significant.

4.6 Factors that can predict practitioner-perceived attitude-to-school

The section will examine the capacity of groups and combinations of variables for predicting students' attitude-to-school after their first year in secondary school. The dependent variable was the combined pastoral/classroom practitioners' end-of year/post-first-year outcomes factor score. The predictor variable sets were designed to reflect the attitudes and attributes students brought with them on arrival at the school, and the initial judgements of teachers on the students. Table 4.5 shows the results of the stepwise regression analyses.

Table 4.5 Stepwise Regression Analysis: all categories

The most predctive variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8			
Motivation Raw Mean Score Autumn 2010	.651***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
How do you behave in your lessons?	-	.302***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
How often have you heard adults in your house talking about work?	-	-	.265***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Are you going to take part in any school activities other than lessons?	-	-	-	.156*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Number of famous cultural figures recognised (max 18)	-	-	-	-	.158*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Number of Siblings in Home	-	-	-	-	-	.116*	-	-	-	-	-
English an an Additional Language	-	-	-	-	-	-	.121*		-	-	-
Ethnicity level a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.181*	-	-	-
Adj R_2	.42	.5	.56	.58	.6	.61	.62	.64			
The most predictive non-practitioner sourced variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
How do you behave in your lessons?	.492***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
How often have you heard adults in your house talking about work?	-	.37***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Number of famous cultural figures recognised (max 18)	-	-	.241**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gender	-	-	-	.24**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
How often do you go to concerts (any kind)	-	-	-	-	.216*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Number of Siblings in Home	-	-	-	-	-	.167*	-	-	-	-	-
How often do you go to the cinema?	-	-	-	-	-	-	.131*	-	-	-	-
How often do you play outdoor sports?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.147*	-	-	-
How often do you cook a meal for family or friends?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.28*	-	-
Are you going to take part in any school activities other than lessons?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.125*	-
How good do you think you are at PE?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.126*
Adj R_2	.24	.37	.42	.47	.51	.53	.55	0.56	0.57	0.58	0.59
Non-practitioner sourced variables without contradictions	1	2	3	4	5	6					
How do you behave in your lessons?	.492***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
How often have you heard adults in your house talking about work?	-	.37***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Number of famous cultural figures recognised (max 18)	-	-	.241**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gender	-	-	-	.24**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Are you going to take part in any school activities other than lessons?	-	-	-	-	.174*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Number of Siblings in Home	-	-	-	-	-	.154*	-	-	-	-	-
Adj R_2	.24	.37	.42	.47	0.49	.51					

Initial Teacher Judgements	1										
Motivation Raw Mean Score Autumn 2010	.651***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Adj R^2	.42										
Highbrow Cultural Capital	1	2	3	4							
How many books are there in your home?	.39***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
How often do you use the internet for homework or study?	-	.284***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
How often have you heard adults in your house talking about politics?	-	-	.203*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Number of famous cultural figures recognised (max 18)	-	-	-	.203*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Adj R^2	.15	.22	.25	.28							
Economic Capital	1	2	3								
Parental Occupation	.37***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Free School Meals	-	.249**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parental residence	-	-	.187*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Adj R^2	.13	.18	.2								
Initial Attitude to Primary School	1	2	3								
Did the teachers like you?	.337***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
What did you think of your Primary School?	-	.191**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Did you have many friends in Primary School?	-	-	.209*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Adj R^2	.11	.14	.1								
Initial Attitude to Secondary School	1										
How do you behave in your lessons?	.492***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Adj R^2	.24										
Academic Self-Concept	1	2									
How good are you at English?	.321***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
How good are you ar RE/Values	-	.181*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Adj R^2	.1	.12									
Personal Characteristics and attendance	1	2	2								
Gender	.392***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Free School Meals	-	.323***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Percentage attendance	-	-	.263***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Adj R^2	.15	.25	.31								
*p<.05 **p<.005 ***p<.001											

4.61 The most predictive variables

Having completed some exploratory analyses based on the results of the compared means data and trial and error experimentation, a set of thirteen variables was identified (Table 4.5 The Most Predictive Variables). The stepwise analysis selected eight of these variables that together explained that nearly 64% of the variance [R^2=.66 $F(8,122)=29.57, p<.001$]. However, although this predictive capacity was statistically valid, the variables came from a wide range of categories including teacher-perception, academic self-concept, student-viewed classroom behaviour, highbrow cultural capital, sporting and leisure activities, family size, ethnicity, and EAL. The disparate nature of these variables might be considered to have compromised the usefulness of their explanation of the variance.

There was also a contradiction that undermined the ethnicity and EAL elements. Having EAL [β=.121] was associated with being perceived positively by practitioners. But, although all bar one of the EAL students were non-white, ethnicity level *a* [β=-.181] suggested being non-white was a negative predictor of attitude. The most likely explanation for this is that non-white group included the twelve mixed-heritage students who, as seen above, had very negative practitioner generated outcomes. However, only one of the mixed-heritage students had EAL. Nevertheless, EAL [ΔR^2=.014] and ethnicity [ΔR^2=.018] had a limited

predictive capacity. Indeed, without them the remaining variables still explained 61% of the [R^2=.63,F(6,124)=34.87,p<.001].

The variables with the most predictive capacity were those directly connected to the classroom. Teacher-perceived motivation alone [β=.651] explained 42% the variance [R2=.42,F(1,129)=95.01, p<.001], a figure that rose to 50% [Δ R^2=.08] when combined with student self-assessed behaviour in lessons [β=.302]. Here, then, was a thematically linked pair of variables that explained nearly half of the variance [R2=.5,F(2,128)=65.16,p<.001].

Hearing familial adults discussing work [β=.265] was the non-classroom-based variable adding most [ΔR^2=.07] to the predictive capacity [R2=.69,F(6,124)=34.87,p<.001]. Taking part in after-school activities [β=-.156, Δ R^2=.023], the number of famous cultural figures recognised [β=.158, Δ R^2=.022] and the number of siblings [β=-.116, Δ R^2=.013] did not greatly change the explanation of variance.

Initial teacher-perceived motivation, then, was the most predictive of all the variables. Nevertheless, with teacher-perceived motivation removed, there were eleven non-practitioner sourced variables that predicted 59% of the variance [R^2=.59,F(11,119)=18.01,p,.001]. The biggest contribution, explaining 24% of the variance, came from students' self-assessed behaviour in lessons [β=.492,p<.001], although this rose to 37% with the addition of familial adults discussing work [β=-.37,p<.001; Δ

R^2=.14]. Knowledge of cultural figures [β=-.24,Δ R^2=.055] and gender [β=-.51,Δ R^2=.023] brought the predictive capacity up to 46.8%. However, there were some contradictory elements in the remaining variables. For instance, going to concerts and playing outdoor sports were negatively associated with practitioner outcomes, while going to the cinema and self-assessed ability at PE had positive associations. When these contradictory variables were removed, the six significant variables shown in step 6 had a predictive capacity of 51% for practitioner-perceived attitude [R2=.534,F(6,124)=23.67,p<.001] with participation in extra-curricular activities [β=-.174,Δ R^2=.027] and the number of siblings [β=-.154,Δ R^2=.022] adding a little under 5% to the prediction of variance.

4.62 Thematically grouped variables

Teacher-sourced predictors

Although the initial teacher-perceived motivation grades had a significant amount of predictive capacity, the same was not true for ability group placement. The stepwise analysis included only one step, with teacher-perceived motivation [β=.65] predicting 42% of the variance [R2=.424,F(1,143)=105.32,p<.001]. Maths set placement and English set placement were not significant.

Cultural Capital

Twelve variables were chosen to represent highbrow cultural capital. However, the stepwise analysis found four significant variables predicting 28% of the variance [R2=.301,F(4,133)=14.34,p<.001]. The number of books in the home [β=.23] predicted 14.6% of the variance, while the use of the internet for study [β=.224,Δ R^2=.079], the knowledge of cultural figures [β=.201,Δ R^2=.037], and adult discussion of politics [β=.198,Δ R^2=.034] brought this up to 21.9%. Although these cultural capital indicators had some predictive capacity for combined pastoral and classroom-based outcomes, it was clear that it was considerably less than that of initial teacher-perceived motivation, and less than half of the most predictive variables.

Economic Capital

The seven economic capital variables had less predictive usefulness than cultural capital variables and the stepwise analysis picked only three influential variables that together predicted 20.1% of the variance [R2=.218,F(3,134)=12.46,p<.001]. Parental occupation [β=.37] was the most influential variable, predicting 13.1% of the variance [R2=.137,F(1,136)=21.58,p<.001] . FSM status [β=.249,Δ R^2=.05] and parental residence [β=.187,Δ R^2=.031] made up the rest.

Initial Attitude-to-school

Attitude to primary school predicted just 17% of end-of-year/post-first-year practitioner outcomes with only three of the six variables being significant [R2=.186,F(3,150)=11.44,p<.001]. Did the teachers like you? [β=.337] predicted 10.8% of the variance. General rating of primary school [β=.191,Δ R^2=.033] and number of friends [β=.296,Δ R^2=.04] made up the rest. It is fair to suggest, then, that the predictive capacity of primary school variables was rather limited.

When all fourteen initial attitude-to-secondary-school variables were entered [R2=.242,F(1,142)=45.43,p<.001] the amount of explained variance (23.7%) was down to a single variable, self-assessed classroom

behaviour [β=.492]. Students' ratings of teachers, lessons, homework, uniform, their general rating of the school, and their desire to succeed, made little or no contribution in predicting end-of-year/post-first-year practitioner outcomes.

Academic Self-concept

Eleven academic self-concept ratings were entered in the stepwise analysis, but only two proved significant. Academic self-concept for English [β=.321] predicted 9.7% of the variance, while self-concept in RE/values [β=.181, ΔR^2=.03] saw this rise to 12.2%. The academic self-concept variables, then, were not particularly useful in predicting end-of-year/post-first-year practitioner outcomes.

Personal characteristics and attendance

Although this group originally included seven variables (gender, ethnicity level a, G &T status, birth month, FSM, EAL, SEN, and attendance percentage) the stepwise analysis showed only three significant variables. Gender alone [β=-.392] explained 14.8% of the variance [R2=.154,F(1,154)=27.88,p<.001]. FSM status [β=.323, ΔR^2=.103] followed by attendance [β=.263,ΔR^2=.065] brought this up to 30.8%.

4.63 Summary of Regression analysis

The best single predictor for end-of-year/post-first-year combined pastoral and classroom practitioner-perceived outcomes was initial teacher-perceived motivation. The second best single predictor was students' initial self-assessment of their classroom behaviour. Together, these teacher-perceived and student-perceived classroom ratings explained nearly 50% of the variance. Other teacher ratings (ability group placements) and other initial student self-reported attitudes to secondary school added little predictive capacity to initial teacher-perceived motivation and student self-assessed behaviour.

A disparate collection of variables was able to explain over 60% of the variance. However, although thematically grouped variables for cultural capital, economic capital, attitude to primary school, initial attitude to secondary school, and initial academic self-concept, explained significant amounts of the variance for combined practitioner outcomes, their predictive capacity was smaller than that of initial teacher-perceived motivation. Highbrow cultural capital explained 28% of the variance, while economic capital explained just over 20%. Attitude to primary school and academic self-concept explained the least amount of variance, at 17% and 12.2% respectively.

The combination of gender, FSM status, and percentage attendance was able to explain over 30% of the variance, more than any of the student

self-reported and capital categories. However, it is clear that the best predictors for end-of-year/post-first-year combined pastoral and classroom practitioner-perceived outcomes were the classroom judgements on motivation and behaviour made by teachers and the students themselves.

Chapter 5: The Discussion

5.1 Introduction

Examining a whole cohort of students, this study investigated diverse students' attitudes to school as well as the perceptions of practitioners working in the school. Its main aims were to examine the attitudes students brought with them from primary school; students' self-reported attitudes towards teachers, lessons, and school in general; students' academic self-concept; practitioners' perceptions of students' motivation in the classroom; and practitioners' perceptions of students' attitudes, conformity to ethos, and social competence in the wider school context.

The findings demonstrated that differences for student self-reported attitudes were generally much smaller than the differences perceived by practitioners. For initial attitudes to school, the largest self-reported differences were between academic self-concept groups, with lower academic self-concept being associated with a more negative attitude to school. A year later the self-reported differences were generally slightly smaller than those at the start of the year. However, while there were no differences in self-reported attitudes toward teachers, differences were starting to appear in attitudes towards lessons, with lower economic capital, lower cultural capital, and lower academic self-concept groups becoming more negative about their lessons compared to others. When

assessing their ability group placements a large number of students perceived their sets as too low.

Initial teacher-perceived classroom motivation grades showed that boys, students from poorer backgrounds and with lower levels of cultural capital, and students who would later be placed in lower ability groups (particularly for English), were less motivated in the classroom than other students. In contrast to students' self-reported findings, there were no practitioner-perceived differences between academic self-concept groups. At the end of the year the initial between-group differences for classroom motivation were maintained and sometimes grew larger. For girls, socio-economic background had little effect on how they were perceived by practitioners, whereas boys from poorer backgrounds were far more negatively perceived than socio-economically better-off boys. Students with SEN were also seen by practitioners as having difficultly sustaining good relationships with staff and peers. Overall, boys, poorer students, students with low cultural capital ratings, students from single parent families, and students with an SEN, were seen as less likely to conform to school ethos, having poorer relationships with staff, and a generally less positive attitude towards school compared to other students. Also, there were no differences between non-white and white students in practitioner-perceived motivation, conformity to ethos, relationships with staff, or general positivity towards school. Finally, non-white students had a higher academic self-concept than white students and yet non-white students spent three times as much time in detention compared to white students.

This chapter will next present the key capital differences between students in this study, followed by discussions on student self-reported attitudes to school and academic self-concept, practitioners' perceptions of students' attitudes and social competence, the origins of achievement and attitudinal gaps, the impact of segregation in school, and the particular situations of specific groups such as boys, ethnic minorities, SEN students, and students from single-parent families. Finally, the chapter will conclude with a discussion on the sources, causes, and character of the disadvantages faced by certain groups of students.

5.2 A Discussion on Capital

In examining aspects of student capital and their associations with perceptions and attitudes towards school, this study showed that cultural capital was a key area of difference. It was keenly associated with a student's status in the eyes of practitioners and with the possession of economic capital. Students with the highest socio-economic status also possessed the highest amount of cultural capital, and the gap between the highest and lowest economic capital groups was large. Similar differences were found between parental occupation groups, with the top group having considerably higher cultural capital than the middle and lowest groups. However, it is worth noting that the differences between the middle and lowest groups were less marked. This suggests the existence on an elite capital group, something further supported by the

large difference found in cultural capital between the forty-three students in top sets for all subjects, and others. Better-off, high ability-group students were in possession of the most cultural capital. But what passed for cultural capital in this study? And what aspects of cultural capital divided one student from another?

When discussing the nature of cultural capital Davies et al (2014 p806) pertinently asked

> *"whether cultural capital is best understood as a single construct or as a set of loosely aligned, distinct, constructs."*

It was a question prompted by Davies et al's (p806) identification of three *'dimensions'* of cultural capital from previous studies: attitudes and interests, cultural knowledge, and language fluency. And three areas of *'activity focus'*, high brow/beaux arts, scientific technical and media oriented framing, and parent/school interaction, straddled the three dimensions. However, Davies et al's question can only be satisfactorily answered in the context of the research methods used and the nature of the outcomes.

In a study using an exploratory factor analysis, it was important to maintain a clear distinction between the elements of cultural capital considered, and the output measurement of cultural capital utilised. The elements of cultural capital embraced all of Davies et al's dimensions and activity foci. All were entered into the factor analysis melting pot. However, the output measurement of cultural capital was concerned with

difference. Using Davies et al's question, this study began with *"loosely aligned, distinct, constructs"* but moved towards a construct of cultural capital difference. But while the output was thematically focussed, it did not form a single construct. Certainly, the domination of books and reading suggested that the parent/school interaction focus was the biggest influence on the output. Nevertheless, the output measure contained minor elements from all of Davies et al's dimensions and activity foci including highbrow areas such as a knowledge of famous books and artistic figures, and scientific technical elements such as a knowledge of famous scientists. The output was, then, a loosely aligned construct of cultural capital with an emphasis on books and reading.

This output measure was broadly in line with studies by Sullivan (2001) and De Graaf, De Graaf, and Kraaykamp (2000) that linked reading, rather than beaux-arts dimensions of cultural capital, with classroom success. Indeed, four of the six most influential factors that made up the cultural capital profile were directly associated with books and reading. Certainly, the fifth factor, concerned general knowledge of cultural figures (artists, musicians, scientists, writers, politicians, actors, etc.) covered the beaux-arts and scientific technical elements, and the sixth factor (Do you play a musical instrument?) might be considered as referring to the beaux-arts. But the core of cultural capital differences concerned reading and general cultural knowledge.

These findings prompted a discussion on the meaning of cultural capital in the current climate and in the particular field of this study. De Graaf, De Graaf, and Kraaykamp (2000 p98) suggested that in an assessment of cultural capital

> *"beaux arts participation must be disentangled from reading characteristics and linguistic skill."*

The distinction between beaux-arts participation and a limited degree of beaux-arts awareness (in the form of famous artistic figures or books) was relevant to this study. De Graaf, De Graaf, and Kraaykamp described beaux-arts as encompassing theatre trips, museum visits, classical music concerts, and visits to art galleries. However, such beaux-arts participation was limited in the school where this research took place, and the findings pointed to minimal differences in such activities. Indeed, even placing the playing of musical instruments within the 'beaux arts' was debatable. The violin, the oboe, or the French horn may be comfortably considered beaux-arts, but what about the guitar, the drums, or the electric keyboard? In fact, these instruments were the ones most recorded in this study. The musical instrument question typifies the confusion over what constitutes beaux-arts (DiMaggio and Mukhtar 2002) and its usefulness as a capital indicator. The beaux-arts may still exist in elitist institutions such as the great public schools, but most ordinary schools have a broader definition of arts, culture and creativity that represents the diverse world in which we live. Certainly, as far as this study was concerned, differences in capital ownership became most apparent when using reading as a dimension of cultural capital.

Familial economic capital, parental occupation, and parental residence are determined in the home, while ethnicity, EAL, SEN, and gender are bestowed by birth or circumstance. These capitals and characteristics are brought into school from the external environment. But to what extent is the same true of cultural capital? Clearly, the reading-based questions in this study showed that cultural capital differences were located in the home and wider environment, rather than exclusively in a narrow curriculum-based application of reading. Nevertheless, the findings were in line with the suggestion in Goldthorpe (2007) that school and home can work in tandem to cultivate and refine cultural capital. The naming of books read, favourite authors, and favourite titles, along with a knowledge of cultural figures, are things that could be acquired from home, school, or both. However, the number of books in the home and the frequency of adults discussing books in the home were firmly located within the family. Similarly, the amount of reading not connected with school work was located outside the classroom. So, although there was possibly an element of school extending cultural capital to families where it was in scant supply (as suggested by Halsey, Heath, and Ridge 1980), the findings suggested that differences in the possession of reading-based cultural capital were, in fact, largely based on a culture of reading in the familial environment. Beaux-arts participation may have been in poor supply, but there were clear home-based cultural differences

associated with students' perceivable cultural capital in the school environment.

5.3 Student Capital, Academic Self-Concept and Self-Reported Attitudes to School

This section of the discussion will consider how students' levels of capital possession and academic self-concept were linked to their self-reported perceptions and attitudes to school. Self-reported perceptions will be considered from three viewpoints: students' retrospective views on their primary school experience; students' initial judgements on their new secondary school; and changes in students' views after one year in secondary school.

Students' self-reported views of their primary school experience suggested that, in the students' own eyes, oppositional subcultures based on socio-economic class and cultural values such as those described in Hargreaves (1967), Lacey (1970), Willis (1977), and Ball (1981) had not developed in primary school. There were no significant differences in attitudes to primary school between cultural capital groups, FSM students and others, economic capital groups, or between higher, middle, and lower parental occupation groups. The latter two were

particularly interesting given that the school in this study was in an area of high economic disadvantage, with few families that might, in old-fashioned nomenclature, be labelled middle-class. The three economic capital and parental occupation groups represented three tiers within what, in the studies cited above, would have been labelled working-class. However, the findings suggested that neither possession of economic capital, nor parental occupational status, had any significant influence on students' attitudes towards, feelings about, and ratings of their primary school experiences.

Equally, students' initial assessments of their new secondary school suggested that socio-economic factors made little difference to students' initial attitudes to school. There were no significant differences between economic capital groups, parental occupational status groups, or FSM/non-FSM groups, for either initial attitudes to teachers and lessons, or self-assessed classroom behaviour. Nevertheless, the modest difference showing FSM students giving the school a slightly lower overall rating than others was a hint that poorer students were less satisfied than others. However, the overall rating differences for other socio-economic categories were not significant. On the whole it would seem that the socio-economic attitudinal differentials noted in *Shaun's Story* (Reay 2002) were not particularly apparent in the students' eyes when they started at secondary school.

Similarly, the differences between cultural capital groups also gave no more than a hint that students with lower capital were more negative towards their new school than other students. Indeed, there were no significant differences in initial self-reported views on teachers, lessons, or overall rating of the school, suggesting that when students arrived at secondary school cultural capital was not an important factor in their self-reported attitudes to, or ratings of, school. Nevertheless, in rating their classroom behaviour, students in the lowest cultural capital group were moderately more negative than those in the highest group. So, while the lack of differences between both cultural and economic capital groups tended to support the idea (Croll et al 2008) that social class did not affect students' enjoyment of school or their views on teachers, there were hints of a tension between the values of the school and the values of lower cultural capital students.

So what might the source of this tension have been? Students did not seem to have focused their discontent on the teachers or the overall quality of the school. Students in lower cultural capital groups were no more critical of the performance of the teachers than students in higher groups, and enjoyed their lessons roughly equally. And yet, students with lower cultural capital perceived themselves as behaving less well than others in the classroom. The possibility of misrecognition might be considered here, in that an ideological reinforcement of the correctness of the school's way of doing things had normalised school procedures

which, in turn, had been internalised by the students. Teaching styles, modes of behaviour, curriculum content, expected outputs, definitions of merit all follow a set pattern that students have been conditioned to accept as correct. This process was well illustrated by Abraham (2008) in his analysis of Hallam and Ireson's (2006) data that seemed to suggest a majority of students' favouring ability grouping systems. Abraham showed that what students actually favoured was the dominant culture of their schools. The majority of students in ability-grouping schools favoured ability grouping, while the majority of students in schools using mixed-ability classes favoured mixed-ability schooling. However, in Hallam and Ireson's study ability-grouping schools greatly outnumbered mixed-ability schools, which gave rise to the misleading statistic suggesting most pupils favoured ability grouping. In reality, students favoured the systems with which they were familiar. The fact that lower cultural capital students perceived themselves as behaving less well than others, yet rated the school as highly as others, suggested they located the cause of their poor behaviour within themselves rather than with alternative explanations such as inappropriate lesson content, non-engaging teaching, or poorly differentiated lessons. They accepted the dominant ideology of the correctness of the school's offer.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that at the start of secondary school, although teachers observed both an achievement gap and a motivational gap based on socio-economic status, low socio-economic

background students did not have a more negative view of lessons than others. By the end of the year, however, this was beginning to change. Croll et al (2008) described students' differentiation between the social side of school (enjoyment) and the purpose (usefulness) of school. Other studies (such as Gorard and See 2011; Lumby 2011) have highlighted the importance students place on the role of school in social interaction, observing that this often governs students' assessment of enjoyment. But Croll et al suggested that alongside this social aspect, students from lower socio-economic backgrounds were more likely than others to feel that school was not relevant to them. And, when looking at the post-first-year self-reported attitudes, it became clear that students with lower cultural and economic capital were, in line with Croll et al, beginning to compartmentalise the social and purposeful aspects of school.

At the end of the year, students from lower capital groups rated their lessons as less productive compared to students with higher capital. While initially there were no significant socio-economic or cultural capital group differences for the perceived amount of work done in lessons, one year later the lowest economic group reported doing considerably less work than the highest group. The lowest parental occupation group reported a similar (albeit slightly smaller) difference, and FSM students, too, reported doing less work than others. Students with low cultural capital were similarly less positive about lessons than other students, particularly in the lower amount of work they felt they were completing.

Alongside this were increasing differences (although they were still not large) between capital groups in self-assessed behaviour in lessons. The lowest parental occupation group, the lowest economic capital group, and the lowest cultural capital group all rated their classroom behaviour more negatively than the other students.

The self-reported data suggested that during the course of their first secondary school year poorer students, and those with lower levels of cultural capital, were becoming less engaged than others with lessons, and were acknowledging that the seeds of an oppositional culture, in terms of classroom behaviour, had been sown. However, after the first year no significant differences were found in the FSM, economic capital, parental occupation, or cultural capital categories for how students viewed teachers' competency and fairness, and whether teachers were nice people. And for students' overall rating of the school, the differences for economic, parental occupation and cultural capital groups remained insignificant, while FSM students continued to be only slightly less positive than others. Compared to other students, less capital-rich students found their lessons less engaging and productive, but continued to locate the cause of this within their own behaviour and productivity rather than in the quality of the teachers or the overall effectiveness of the school. They continued to not recognise that, as pointed out in the core beliefs in the report on behaviour chaired by Alan Steer (DfES 2005 p2):

“the quality of learning, teaching and behaviour in schools are inseparable issues”.

Interestingly, in spite of poorer and lower cultural capital students reporting a decrease in the amount of work they were doing, and an increase in their misbehaviour in lessons, students enjoyed lessons equally across capital groups. Given the suggestion that enjoyment of school, particularly for disengaged groups, is based around social factors (Gorard and See 2011; Lumby 2011), perhaps poorer students (doing less work, and with more misbehaviour) were enjoying lessons according to their own peer values and status markers. Noting Kelly’s (2009) discussion on social identity theory, and particularly given that lower capital students were also likely to be in lower ability groups, students’ self-reported views suggested that poorer students may have been gradually reforming their classroom identity into a habitus that was not based on the values of the school. They were remodelling their classroom situation and it was no less enjoyable than the academically focussed classroom experiences of their more capital-rich peers. Certainly, it is conceivable that differential polarization (Kelly 2009) was underway within the first year of secondary school, and the resultant sub-culture, noted decades previously in Hargreaves (1967), Lacey (1970), and Willis (1977), was becoming a distinct possibility.

However, student self-reported differences in attitudes to school were considerably more apparent between students with different levels of academic self-concept compared to students with different levels of cultural or economic capital. Students with the lowest initial academic self-concept had the most negative self-reported attitudes to school. Indeed, the differences in self-reported attitudes between the highest and lowest academic self-concept groups were more marked than any other category, particularly for their initial ratings of school. Interestingly, academic self-concept was also the only category where student self-reported differences were larger than the differences perceived by practitioners. Certainly, students with low academic self-concept were more negative about their primary school experience compared to others. And this negativity was also apparent in all their initial judgements of their new school including their views on teachers and lessons, and their overall rating of the school. However, the biggest initial difference between lower academic self-concept students and others was in their low rating of their classroom behaviour.

Sodha and Margo (2010), discussing the issue of post-sixteen NEETS, noted that many students, particularly those disengaged from school, had internalised a negative view of themselves in relation to education driven by the performativity preoccupation with testing and examinations pervading the English education system. The findings from this study suggested that it is quite possible that this internalisation was well-rooted

before the students arrived at their new secondary school. Certainly this would be in line with the study of Connors et al (2009) who noted that:

> *"at primary school level….various reports have highlighted the deleterious consequences of evaluation for teaching and learning and for the well-being and motivation of both teachers and pupils".* (Connors 2009 p2)

Connors et al suggested that many final year primary school pupils became increasingly anxious and stressed with the onset of SATs tests. In fact, their study of a hundred and twenty-three year 6 pupils found that much of this stress was parent-driven because families believed that SATs tests would be used to categorise students in their new secondary schools. Connors et al also observed that while some students disliked the testing regime, others felt it was useful. However it was found that

> *"Pupils discussed how a lower than expected grade might result in a negative self-judgement from both the pupil themselves and 'other people', including parents and teachers…. findings suggest that at least some pupils have internalised a belief that self-esteem is related to educational achievement."* Connors et al (2009 p10)

Given these findings it is not surprising that students with low academic self-concept, having been through a year characterised by anxiety related to high-stakes testing that may well have lowered their self-esteem, began secondary school with a significantly more negative attitude towards the education system compared to their more academically confident peers. On the other hand, those with high academic self-concept, who were comparatively positive about primary

school, may well have thrived on high-stakes testing and developed a school habitus characterised by feelings of success.

Ingram (2009) gave a cogent description of how perceived academic success can have a huge impact on an individual student's habitus. In contrasting the attitudes of boys in a selective grammar school and a non-selective secondary school in the same area of Belfast, Ingram noted how going to different schools influenced the habitus of two groups of boys from the same locality and with similar backgrounds. It is important to remember that the eleven-plus is still prevalent in Belfast and getting to grammar school represents educational success, while going to secondary school is synonymous with failing to make the grade. Ingram suggested that in this environment students' perceptions of success or failure were actually formalised well before they took the eleven-plus when, during their last years in primary school, they were separated into two ability groups: those expected to pass the test for grammar school and the others. Ingram (2009 p429) pertinently observed that:

> *"only the secondary school boys opposed actual learning; the grammar school boys all aspired to middle class jobs such as teachers and lawyers and accepted the perception that academic learning is important"*

Although this West Midlands study was carried out in a single school without the stark divisions of the eleven-plus to dictate a child's self-esteem, the findings clearly showed that students brought with them from

primary school different levels of academic self-concept and associated attitudes. And like the Belfast secondary school boys, those with lower academic self-concept harboured negative attitudes towards primary school that were not put aside when making a fresh start at secondary school. The suggestion must be that primary school practices leading to SATs testing were implanting in students notions of success or failure in a similar way to the eleven-plus exam.

The findings of this study, in common with the findings of Ingram (2009), demonstrated that the educational aspects of a student's habitus were established before they arrived at secondary school. And it was clear that students with the lowest initial academic self-concept were developing a less positive habitus than those with higher self-concept. But had this changed by the end of the year? Did a year in secondary school moderate or exacerbate the habitus of low academic self-concept pupils? Certainly, a year later the differences in attitudes between lower and higher academic self-concept students had shifted somewhat. There were now no significant academic self-concept group differences in students' overall rating of the school or attitudes towards teachers. However, as with cultural and economic capital groups, the discontent of lower academic self-concept students became firmly focussed on the classroom with the lowest group being the most negative in their views on lessons and self-assessed classroom behaviour, and showing signs of academic disengagement. And, like students with low economic and

cultural capital, students with low academic self-concept were separating their views of teachers as people from their experiences in lessons.

The findings also showed that alongside this classroom-focussed anti-school habitus, students with the lowest initial academic self-concept continued to have significantly lower academic self-concept than others a year later. And, as the meta-analysis by Huang (2011) identified, this has implications for academic achievement in that high academic self-concept was associated with high achievement, while low academic self-concept was associated with low achievement. However, Huang concluded that improving academic self-concept alone would not improve achievement, while improving achievement alone would not improve academic self-concept. The only way to establish long-term improvement was to improve both in tandem. Nevertheless, the findings of this study made it clear that one year into secondary school there was little sign that low academic self-concept was being tackled. It was likely, then, that the cocktail of low academic self-concept and negative attitudes to lessons would lead to low achievement.

Although there were signs that, one year on, cultural and economic capital were becoming linked with pro- and anti-school attitudes, students' self-reported views suggested that these were less influential than academic self-concept. However, it is questionable whether the presence of distinct pro- and anti-school school attitudes was sufficiently

large to suggest that certain groups had fully absorbed such attitudes into their habituses. Similarly, the student-generated data did not demonstrate strongly polarised pro or anti-school cultures such as those found in Hargreaves (1967) and Willis (1977). Certainly, the student-generated findings hint that an oppositional culture might have been developing in students who felt academically less confident than others, and who had lower levels of cultural and economic capital compared to others. But the differences in student self-reported findings were simply not large enough to suggest anything more than the potential for differential polarization (as discussed in Kelly 2009) was in place. This was summed up by the fact that with one exception (a modest difference between FSM students and others) there were no significant differences between any groups for students' post-first-year overall ratings of the school.

5.4 Capital and practitioner-perceived differences in students' attitudes and competency in school

The findings of this study made one thing abundantly clear: the between-group differences in students' attitudes to school perceived by practitioners were generally far larger than those perceived by the students themselves. And, what is more, many of these practitioner perceptions were firmly in place by the time students had been in secondary school for just a few weeks. The findings also suggested that,

in spite of several decades of equalities-based rhetoric, practitioners' collective perceptions exposed a more positive view of students whose cultural qualities and social class were closest to those of the practitioners themselves. To explore these findings further, this section will examine the relationship between student capital and practitioners' perceptions. Practitioner perceptions will cover issues directly related to the classroom including motivation and behaviour, as well as wider school perceptions such as social competence, conformity to school ethos, and relationships with peers and members of staff.

The findings of this study showed considerable initial practitioner-perceived differences between students with differing levels of cultural capital. The differences in initial teacher-perceived motivation between the highest and lowest cultural capital groups were very large, and between the highest and middle group, moderately large. Immediately, in the teachers' eyes, those students who had higher reading-related capital were more positively viewed in the classroom than others. And this was reflected in the ability group placements for Maths and, to a much larger extent, for English. Higher cultural capital meant higher set placement. The importance of reading and linguistic competence was highlighted by the fact that while differences in initial teacher-perceived motivation between the top and lowest Maths groups were only moderate, the differences between top and lower English groups were large.

Whilst there may be a link between reading-based cultural capital and English ability-group placement, why should this be the case for classroom motivation? Given that students' initial self-reported attitudes to school were similar regardless of cultural capital level, one might expect them to also have had similar levels of motivation. However, it would seem that teacher-perceived motivation increased with an interest in, and experience of, reading and a knowledge of cultural figures. This raises the possibility of a deficit model approach, where teachers were attributing low motivation to students' lack of reading-based cultural capital rather than recognising the need to change the style of their pedagogy and curriculum so that, motivation-wise, it inspired all, and not just those with a bent for reading.

By the end of the year the differences between high and low cultural capital students' in teacher-perceived motivation had grown even larger. More worryingly, the lowest cultural capital group had over nine times as many classroom behaviour referrals as the highest group. Again, the evidence points to the possibility of a deficit model. Students' post-first-year self-reported views suggested that lower cultural capital students continued to be no less positive about their teachers or in their overall rating of the school than their higher cultural capital peers. However, lower cultural capital students were starting to express some dissatisfaction with their lessons and this was reflected in their own and their teachers' perceptions of their classroom behaviour. The findings

from this study demonstrated that teachers attributed comparatively low motivation to students with lower cultural capital at the beginning of the year, and were ineffective in addressing this lower motivation. Instead they applied higher levels of punitive sanctions to lower cultural capital students compared to their high cultural capital peers.

A case could be made to suggest students with lower cultural capital, with less interest and interactions with books and middle-class cultural knowledge, were being short-changed in the classroom. The fact that they were perceived as less motivated and far more likely than others to disrupt lessons, pointed to them not being engaged by their teaching. As the self-reported data tell us, these students did not arrive at the school with an oppositional culture. They were just as positive as everyone else. And yet, after one year in school teachers reported that they were rebelling in lessons. High cultural capital students, on the other hand, were seen as highly motivated and unlikely to misbehave in class. They were the students whose cultural capital was closest to that of the teachers themselves and, it would appear, most compatible with the curriculum and pedagogy on offer. The teacher-perceived motivation and behaviour data suggested that higher cultural capital students were engaged, compliant, and learning.

Certainly, this was confirmed by the non-classroom-based findings collected from pastoral managers and form tutors at the end of students' first year in secondary school. Like the classroom-based findings, students with lower levels of cultural capital were very negatively perceived compared to their capital-rich peers. There were very large differences between practitioner perceptions of higher and lower cultural capital students with higher cultural capital students being seen as more in-tune with the values and ethos of the school, having better relationships with staff, and having a hugely more positive attitude to school.

Although somewhat smaller than the initial teacher-perceived differences between students with different levels of cultural capital, there were significant between-group differences for economic capital. FSM students were rated as less motivated than others, and those in the lowest economic capital group were perceived as less motivated than students in both the middle and highest groups. Also, like students with higher levels of cultural capital, those with higher levels of economic capital were significantly more likely than others to be placed in higher ability groups. And once more the differences were less marked in Maths than English. Nevertheless, those in the lowest economic group had a lower mean Maths set placement than students in the most affluent groups. But for English the poorest group had a significantly lower mean set placement than both the middle group and the most affluent group.

Likewise, the lowest parental occupation group had a lower English set placement that the middle and the highest occupation groups.

So, after they had been in their new school for just half a term, poorer students were already perceived by teachers as less able and less motivated than others. This is interesting in light of the observations of Gazeley and Dunne (2008) that teachers were consciously avoiding open references to class, while simultaneously normalising working-class underachievement. Whether consciously or unconsciously, at a very early stage in their secondary education, poorer background students were being located in classes where they were likely to underachieve (Wiliam and Bartholomew 2004), and had an increased chance of developing an anti-school stance (Kelly 2009). And, if Coldron et al (2010) are to be believed, those least endowed with economic capital would have suffered a double dose of segregation by finding the doors of successful schools in affluent areas firmly shut by the machinations of the education marketplace, and being quickly parked in locations of relative disadvantage within the schools that were open to them.

As with students with lower cultural capital, at the end of the year poorer students were increasingly viewed more negatively than others by practitioners. The initial moderate difference in teacher-perceived motivation between the lowest and highest economic capital groups

became large as the year progressed. Equally, the differences between FSM students and others, and those in the top parental occupation group and others grew, resonating with Gazeley and Dunne's (2008) view that teachers normalised poorer students' underachievement. As with lower cultural capital students, during poorer- students' first full year at secondary school, practitioners appeared to be unwilling or unable to act upon the lack of motivation they perceived when students first arrived at the school. Once more, as perceived motivation declined, punitive sanctions in the shape of classroom behaviour referrals suggested that teachers were also identifying more misbehaviour in poorer students compared to others. Students in the poorest economic capital group had five times as many behaviour referrals as those in the highest group, FSM students were three times more likely to be referred than others, and those in the lowest parental occupation group had four times as many referrals as those in the top group. These findings, again, point to a deficit model, locating responsibility in the behaviour of the student rather than in the curriculum, ineffective teaching, or students' wider social ecology. It would seem that for lower capital students, punishment rather than pedagogical reform was the order of the day.

The non-classroom-based findings, also, were very similar to those for cultural capital groups with students from better-off backgrounds, or with parents in higher status jobs, perceived by practitioners as more positive,

more compliant, more in-tune with the values and ethos of the school, and easier to relate to compared to their less well-off peers.

The findings of this study, then, made it clear that professionals in the field (teachers and pastoral managers) identified large and persistent deficits in students with lower cultural and economic capital. Furthermore, these deficits were not restricted to the academic aspects of school. Certainly, lower capital students were perceived as less motivated and as having less academic ability compared to others. But there were also issues with values. Low capital students were more negatively perceived than others in terms of conformity to ethos, relationships, and general positivity towards school, all issues that were not directly related to academic ability. These findings raised some difficult questions regarding the efficacy of the school itself, the wider *bildungssystem,* and the broader responsibilities of society as a whole.

5.5 The origins and nature of the gap between poorer and better-off students

In this study practitioners observed academic and attitudinal gaps between students with higher and lower socio-economic status. To contextualise responsibility for failing to narrow these gaps we will examine the extent to which they were in place before students arrived at

secondary school, before considering aspects of school practice and practitioner attitudes that may have exacerbated these gaps between the capital-rich and the capital-poor. Certainly, the findings concerning ability group placement demonstrated that teachers' perceived an achievement gap between poorer and better-off students. These observations were in line with a steady stream of studies linking the effects of poverty with comparative under-achievement (Blanden and Gregg 2004; Horgan 2007; Chowdry et al 2009; Goodman and Gregg 2010; Sutton Trust 2011; Egan 2012; Jerim 2013; Ferragina et al 2013; Sosu and Ellis 2014). Furthermore, as Reardon (2011 p93) observed, the achievement gap between better-off and less well-off students does

"not appear to narrow as children progress through school".

Indeed, as Feinstein (2003) demonstrated using data from the 1970 Birth Cohort Survey, between the ages of two and ten years the achievement gaps between children from the least well-off and better-off families grow consistently. However, Feinstein also suggested that poverty dictated the steadfastness of low achievement, noting that children from poorer backgrounds in the lowest achievement quartile in infancy would almost certainly be in the same position aged ten. On the other hand, well-off background children in the lowest achievement quartile in infancy were likely not to be there aged ten, and were also likely to have overtaken poorer-background children who were previously in the top achievement quartile.

Feinstein's findings suggested that the achievement gap was firmly in place before the students reached secondary school. Indeed, Feinstein and others (Goodman and Gregg 2010; Abouey and Geoffard 2013) have shown that the gap was in place even before children started formal schooling. However, it is debatable whether poverty itself produces the gap. As Dearing et al (2001 p1791) suggested:

> "*The effect of family economic well-being on children's development is necessarily indirect; in other words, it is mediated by proximal processes such as the home environment."*

Certainly, a clear association between low achievement and poverty has long been established, but the causes are complex. Goodman and Gregg (2010) suggested health deficits and developmental issues had an impact on the cognitive capacity of pre-school children. But they also found that maternal health, particularly depression, and lifestyle choices such as not breast-feeding were more common in poorer families compared to better-off families. Robinson and Kirkcaldy (2007) echoed this, noting that over a number of years the Office for National Statistics has found cigarette smoking to be more prevalent among unemployed people and low paid workers compared to others (ONS 2013). Economic barriers to good parenting such as low paid workers needing to worked extremely long hours in order to make ends meets were highlighted by Horgan (2007). Hoff (2003), on the other hand, observed that poverty was associated with restricted and rather basic linguistic development. What becomes clear is that while the link between poverty and low

achievement exists, the underlying causes are multifaceted and different families will have a differing range of factors impacting on their lives.

Furthermore, Dearing et al (2001), in a study of over 8000 families, suggested that the gap between poorer and better-off students was also multifaceted, encompassing more than academic issues alone. Dearing and colleagues demonstrated that the poorest children were also more likely than better-off children to have externalised behavioural issues and internalised anxiety. Such issues, certainly, would impact on academic performance, but they would also affect perceived behaviour and conformity to ethos, and impact on practitioners' perceptions of students' attitudes to, and relationships with, school. Importantly, given that the findings in this study were generated two years into one on the most turbulent economic downturns of recent decades, Dearing et al found that income disruptions (such as job loss or the consequences of family break-up) greatly exacerbated the academic and behavioural gaps associated with poverty. On the other hand, an improvement in income ameliorated such gaps. Dahl and Lochner (2008) reached a similar conclusion, noting also that the effect was larger in boys than girls. It appears that the actions taken by schools were of limited influence in improving the lot of low socio-economic background children compared to a turn-round in the financial situations of their families.

Overall, considering the findings from these studies, it was not unexpected that the practitioners should perceive academic and attitudinal deficits in students from poorer backgrounds. However, it is reasonable to question why the gaps seem to have grown rather than shrunk during students' time in secondary school. Government statistics (DfE 2014c) showed the achievement gaps between disadvantaged students and others for students aged eleven were 18.3% and 17.3% for 2011/12 and 2012/13 respectively. For students aged sixteen the gaps had risen to 27.2% and 26.9% respectively. And exclusion statistics (DfE 2014d) also showed a growing gap between disadvantaged and better-off students. Indeed, the DfE stated that compared to others:

> "*Pupils known to be eligible for and claiming free school meals (FSM) are four times more likely to receive a permanent exclusion and three times more likely to receive a fixed period exclusion; this is similar to previous years."* DfE (2014d p4)

In primary schools 2.41% of children on FSM received a fixed-term exclusion in 2012/13, just under 2% more than non-FSM children. In secondary schools 17.2% of FSM students were excluded, and the gap had risen to over 12% more than non-FSM students. So, while it was certainly justifiable for practitioners in this study to observe attainment and attitudinal gaps between students of higher and lower socio-economic status when they arrived at secondary school, it was also in line with national trends that these gaps increased over time. The next section of this discussion will look at whether this growth could have been encouraged by the policies and practices of the school and whether

it would be justifiable to suggest that certain groups were suffering discrimination.

5.6 School Organisation, Segregation, and Attainment and Attitudinal Gaps

The tripartite system may be largely a thing of the past, but the findings from this study suggested that social segregation still permeates our school system. As already noted, Coldron et al (2010) observed that social segregation through secondary school admissions remains prevalent. However, the findings of this study suggested that even within schools in disadvantaged areas, where there are no more than a handful of children that might be described as of 'middle-class' background (certainly in terms of parental occupation), social segregation still takes place. But what was the nature of this social segregation and did it exacerbate the gap between the capital-rich and the capital poor?

The findings showed that students nearest to being 'middle-class' formed an elite group, and that the formation of this elite group was facilitated by the school itself through its ability-grouping practices. The elite group consisted of 43 students, somewhere between a quarter and a third of

the cohort, who were in top sets for both Maths and English (and therefore, given the timetabling procedures, likely to be in top sets for all their subjects). Most students in a top set for either Maths or English were also in top sets for both (77% in maths, 83% in English). For most of their lessons, then, they operated as a distinct group, a stratum within the year group. But what is interesting is the fact that before these students had been placed into ability groups they were already identified by their teachers as more motivated than other students. And this difference in motivation grades, which was considerable, was maintained at the end of the year. Furthermore these elite students were also seen by pastoral practitioners as more in-tune with the ethos of the school, having better relationships with staff, and having a generally more positive attitude in school compared to other students. In terms of ability, motivation, and attitude, practitioners judged them as a cut above the rest of the cohort.

Given the degree to which practitioners identified positive qualities in these elite students from the initial awarding of motivation grades onwards, one might have expected them to have more positive self-reported attitudes to school than others. However, this was not the case. For self-reported attitudes towards primary school, general rating of their new school, initial views on teachers and lessons, and self-assessed behaviour, there were no significant differences between these all-top-set students and others. What is more, one year on the situation remained

the same. The only initial self-reported difference between the elite group and others was in their higher academic self-concept for Maths and English. However, while at the start of the year this difference was moderate, a year later it was large. So, while in terms of self-reported positivity towards school, teachers, and lessons, there were no differences between the elite group and others, being placed in the top groups for Maths and English gave the elite students an increased level of self-belief in those curriculum areas.

But what characteristics did these elite students have that marked them out? Certainly, they had considerably more economic capital than others and a small but noticeably higher parental occupation status. Nevertheless, by far the largest difference was the elite group's higher levels of cultural capital compared to other students. It was cultural values based in access to books, reading, and cultural knowledge that were the hallmarks of the elite group. Interestingly, these were the same core values that practitioners, and particularly teachers, would have required in order to progress from school to university, and to a career in teaching. Of course, there is nothing wrong with these values. But one has to question whether those who possess such values should be segregated from other students in a comprehensive school. The position of this elite group may have been an example of the *"safe places"* that, according to Araujo (2007), were encouraged by New Labour as it tried to

convince middle-class voters to embrace the comprehensive system. In effect, a grammar school stream was created.

As in *Beachside Comprehensive* (Ball 1981) over thirty years ago, the findings of this study demonstrated that what was labelled as selection by ability was also selection that reflected practitioner-perceived motivation in the classroom and the socio-economic status and cultural capital of students. Indeed, selection based on economic and cultural grounds has been ingrained in English education since the modern schooling system began to be formalised in the 1860s and 1870s through the Clarendon, Taunton, and Newcastle commissions. It has been present for so long that it seems to be part of the habitus of the English *bildungssystem.* As Yarnit (2014) observed:

> *"A deep soul-sapping longing for the grammar school afflicts the English, especially when there's a general election in the offing."*

As with Araujo's comments on setting, Yarnit suggested that persistent calls for the reinstatement of grammar schools are concerned with segregation rather than selection. And while Araujo (2007) linked New Labour's endorsement of setting by ability with Blair's battle for the middle class vote that held the balance of power, Yarnit sees the current debate on selective grammar schools as part of a similar battle between UKIP and the Conservative Party. Yarnit suggested that the calls for the return grammar schools feed on a middle class individualism where parents:

> "*want the best for* [their] *children regardless of the impact on others"*

Certainly, this would be in line with the analysis of Ball (2003b) who observed how the middle classes instinctively manipulated the education marketplace using economic capital to create segregation based on property values.

The political battles over selection demonstrate that the creation and maintenance of an *illusio* sustained by middle class self-interest is seen by politicians as a route to electoral success. As Wacquant (1996 p156) pointed out in a discussion of Bourdieu's *The State of Nobility:*

> "*By providing separate pathways for the transmission of privilege…..the field of elite schools implicates and placates the various categories of inheritors of power and ensures, better than any other device, the 'pax dominorun' indispensable to the sharing of the spoils of hegemony"*

In the context of this study we may substitute elite schools for elite sets. But whether the segregation is by set or by school, at the heart of the *illusio* is the contention that segregation by teacher-perceived ability is in the best interests of everyone in the field. By convincing enough people to accept this *illusio,* politicians can maintain power and the middle classes can maintain privilege through the *pax dominorum.*

But who are the losers in this *illusio*? The influential ability grouping research of Hallam and Ireson (2001, 2006, 2007) suggested that in terms of attainment, those in higher sets gained at the expense of their less able peers, and Schofield (2010) pointed to the resultant widening achievement gap. Furthermore, Wiliam and Bartholomew (2004) observed that students with the same prior achievement performed less well when placed in lower ability groups. Therefore, if factors such as cultural capital, teacher-perceived motivation, and social class, are influencing practitioners' decisions on ability group placement, it is conceivable that students of similar abilities, but with different cultural norms, will find themselves in different ability groups. And Kutnick et al (2005) cited several studies suggesting that it was poorer pupils who were more likely than others to be placed in lower groups (Boaler 1997; Boaler et al 2000; Wiliam & Bartholomew 2004). It would be an exaggeration to describe the elite ability group in this study as middle-class. Nevertheless, their comparatively higher economic and cultural capital levels suggested that they were nearer to being middle-class than other students. Certainly, they may well be part of the next generation to move into Goldthorpe's (2012) *'room at the top'*, the middle-class of the future. And by isolating the elite group from their peers we are creating another generation of students who take educational segregation for granted. A generation who absorb a dominant ideology that bestows normalness on the notion of top set students being given an education suited to their needs while their peers in lower groups are left to accept an ill-fitting, lower quality offer.

This study showed that by the end of their first year in school the non-elite group were less satisfied with their set placements compared to all-top-set students. The findings also mirrored the analysis of Abraham (2008) showing that students in lower sets were more likely to want to move groups than those in higher groups, and generally students wished to move into higher groups rather than to lower ones. Almost no all-top-set students wanted to move down a set, while significantly higher numbers of other students wanted to move up sets rather than down sets. It is interesting to note that many more middle and lower set students were dissatisfied with their Maths sets compared to the number dissatisfied with their English sets. It may be that this was linked to the fact that the socio-economic and cultural capital differences between English groups were considerably larger than for Maths groups. Maths groups were more homogenous in their make-up. There were no significant differences for cultural or economic capital between the middle and lower maths groups, and only small or moderate differences between the top and the lower groups. In English, on the other hand, there were large cultural capital differences between the top set students and those in other sets. And although the differences were not quite as large, there was a similar pattern for economic capital. It is possible, then, that in the more homogenous maths groups students felt that it was legitimate for them to move up the hierarchy, and that they had the tools to do so. But in English, with its culturally segregated top sets, upward movement seemed less attainable and less realistic.

The difference between Maths and English concerning students' desire to move up sets pointed to the possibility that students were aware of their cultural capital differences. There is a logic that says that cultural capital based largely (although not entirely) on books and attitudes to reading will govern English set placement, while a subject like Maths is less dependent on such things. By accepting their place within the English hierarchy, but challenging their place within the Maths hierarchy, students in middle and lower groups were showing that they understood this logic, and that they could discriminate between areas where they felt it was relevant and where they felt it was not. This recognition of the differences in cultural capital between the lower and top sets had clear implications. It suggested that there was a sizeable, clearly discernable and academically segregated, elite group recognised by staff and fellow students through its possession of comparatively large amounts of capital. On the other hand, the lack of significant differences in capital between the lower sets suggested there was not a similarly recognisable group at the other end of the spectrum. The lower and middle groups had a degree of cultural homogeneity that bounded them together, supporting the idea of a dichotomous student body comprising all-top-set students and the rest.

Given this dichotomy, what were the implications of the different locations in which students might find themselves? The differences between the

middle/lowest and top maths groups had distinct characteristics. The largest differences between the top and lowest maths groups were in academic self-concept. At the start of the year, those students who would later find themselves in the lowest Maths sets were less confident about their Maths and English performance compared to the top set. And by the end of the year this difference was very large. However, the differences between the middle and top set students were focused on attitude. While there were no significant academic self-concept differences between the top two Maths groups, the middle group was seen by practitioners as considerably less positive towards school and less compliant with the school ethos. This very much reflected the findings of Ball (1981) who observed that in the *Beachside Comprehensive* banding system it was the middle band that teachers found the most troublesome, while the lower band was seen as compliant, but not very clever. However, although the differences were less marked than with the middle set, the lowest set was also seen by practitioners as less positive, less in-tune with the school ethos, and less able to relate to staff compared to the top set. Additionally, the lowest set was also the least satisfied with their set placement, although both the middle and lower groups felt their set placements were too low, supporting Abraham's (2008) view that status rather than work level was the primary concern. If work level was the concern one would expect to see some top set students wishing to move down, and as many middle set students wanting to move down as wanting to move up. But this was not the case.

However, although this study found that the situation in the lower two Maths sets made it possible for an oppositional sub-culture to develop, it also showed that its development during the first secondary school year was limited. Differences between the top and lowest group in initial teacher-perceived motivation were only moderate. And by the end of the year the only motivation difference between Maths groups was the modest difference between the top and middle group. Also, there were no significant differences between Maths sets for classroom behaviour referrals or detentions. Nevertheless, there was some evidence that Maths ability grouping exacerbated both the achievement and attitudinal gap between low and high socio-economic status students. Certainly, the gap in academic confidence between those in the top group and those in the lowest group increased over the year.

The top English set had higher levels of economic and cultural capital than all other sets. However, the differences for cultural capital were larger than those for economic capital. Nevertheless, there were no practitioner-perceived or student self-reported attitudinal or motivational differences between the top two ability groups. Cultural capital, based on attitudes to books and general cultural knowledge, then, seemed to be associated with practitioner perceptions of language-based ability. It was the biggest differential between students who were equally regarded by practitioners in terms of attitudes and motivation. It provided useful credit that, it seems, was legitimized by the *illusio.*

However, while there were no significant cultural or economic capital differences between the second set and bottom two sets, teacher perceptions showed a clear divide between the top two groups and the rest. Linguistic confidence was clearly linked to teacher-perceived motivation, both initially and a year later, with moderate or large differences between both sets one and two, and the bottom two sets, but no differences between the bottom two sets. Hoff (2003) suggested that language was a key tool to enable children to navigate their way through school, a point backed up by Hatcher (2012). And certainly, when looking at the teacher-perceived motivational and attitudinal deficits in students from the bottom two English sets, it may be suggested that those with language skills that were likely to reflect Bernstein's restricted code (Bernstein 1964) were negatively perceived. Linguistic ability, then, like cultural capital (and it is likely that the two overlap), had status in the *illusio.*

Nevertheless, the evidence for the emergence of an oppositional culture in lower English sets, as for Maths sets, was not entirely convincing. The data suggested that the bottom two sets brought somewhat more negative attitudes from their primary schools compared to higher groups. However, there was only a single significant between-group difference for classroom referrals (between sets one and three), and no significant differences for detentions. As suggested above, the seeds of differential

polarization may well have been sown, but they had not yet borne fruit. But, given the clear pattern of segregation, and a large mismatch between student self-reported and practitioner-judged attitudinal perceptions, it would be a fair prediction that if ability grouping continued the fruits of polarization would swell and ripen.

The findings on ability grouping showed that it is a practice that will exacerbate the achievement and attitudinal gaps between higher and lower socio-economic status students. They demonstrated the existence, and the growing future potential, of the transmission of advantage to those in the elite group and disadvantage to those in lower groups. The findings certainly highlighted a growing divergence in the academic self-concept between the elite group and other students. But perhaps more significant in the longer term will be the potential for differential polarization that will lead to a pro-school academic habitus in the elite group and an anti-school habitus with alternative non-academic status markers in the lower ability groups.

5.7 The Capital Gap and the Problem of Boys

The history of English education, reflecting the history of English society, has been, and continues to be, littered with gender difference, gender stereotyping, and gender discrimination. The Dyke Report (Board of

Education 1906), for example, details the different routes for boys and girls with no pretence of equality. Boys were to be prepared for local industry and girls directed towards domestic service. Over a century later we like to think we live in a more egalitarian age, the age of equal opportunity, where students are judged as individuals rather than categorised by gender. Certainly, since 1988 boys and girls are, by law, offered the same curriculum. Nevertheless, girls continue the pattern, now established for some years, of out-performing boys academically (Bugler et al 2013, Legewie and DiPrete 2012). Girls are also much less likely to be part of the disengaged minority that leaves school to be categorised as NEET (Croll et al 2008), and less likely to face school exclusion (DfE 2013). So, what did the findings of this study tell us about gender differences in students' self-reported views and practitioners' perceptions of motivation, behaviour, and attitude to school? A quarter of a century after the 1988 Education Reform Act do teachers (as Marland suggested in 1983) and students amplify society's stereotypes?

Chedzoy and Burden (2007) and Bugler et al (2013) suggested that gender differences in self-reported attitudes to school were small. And the student self-reported findings generally concurred with this. Although the raw scores indicated that girls were a little more positive than boys, there were no significant gender differences for attitudes to primary school, initial overall school rating, or initial academic self-concept. However, and consistently with Bugler et al (2013), boys were

significantly more negative than girls in their initial views on teachers and lessons, although the difference was modest. A sizeable gender difference was found in self-assessed behaviour in lessons, where boys were more negative than girls. Nevertheless, one year later the self-reported gender differences had decreased. There were no significant gender differences in self-reported attitudes to teachers, lessons, academic self-concept, or overall school rating. And the difference in self-assessed behaviour in lessons, previously moderately large, was now modest. As far as students' own perceptions were concerned, there was little to suggest that boys had significantly more negative attitudes to school than girls, or that attitudes were stereotyped on gender-based lines.

The first judgements made by teachers on students at their new secondary schools suggested the possibility that Marland's observation may still apply. Initial motivation grades, eleven grades each awarded to 78 boys and 78 girls, showed that teachers judged girls to be hugely more motivated than boys. And it seems likely that the motivation perceptions of practitioners had an impact on initial ability group placements. Although there was little difference between boys and girls in maths set levels, girls were significantly more likely than boys to be in higher English sets and the difference was considerable. Could such a large difference have been purely down to ability? It would appear that the cultural capital valued by the school favoured girls. However, although

girls had significantly higher levels of cultural capital, the difference was modest and did not reflect the size of the difference in English set placement. Certainly, boys' initial self-reported views suggested that they were less well behaved than girls in lessons and were moderately less positive than girls in their views of teachers and lessons. However, the size of these differences, again, was far smaller than the motivation difference perceived by the teachers. One has to ponder the following questions. Were teachers' perceptions of motivation influenced by student behaviour? Were set placements, particularly for English, influenced by perceptions of motivation and behaviour rather than ability? And were set placements influenced by stereotyping (for instance boys are good at Maths and girls like writing) that might explain the discrepancy between Maths and English set placement?

The findings at the end of the year suggested that the gap between teacher-perceived gender differences and student self-reported differences had grown. As noted above, self-reported gender differences decreased over the year. Yet the gender difference in teacher-perceived motivation grew larger. And boys were over four times more likely than girls to receive classroom behaviour referrals and spent nearly four times as much time in detention. If we assume that the practitioners' perceptions were correct, that boys were considerably less motivated than girls, and their levels of classroom misbehaviour were higher, there were serious issues with practice. The curriculum offer, or its delivery,

was motivating boys a lot less than it motivated girls. And, through boredom or protest, they were more likely to misbehave. Alternatively, it may be that practitioners were inaccurate in their judgements, and were stereotyping in their assessments of behaviour, attitudes and motivation; snips and snails and puppy dog tails, sugar and spice and all things nice. Or maybe there was a mixture, in whatever proportions, of inappropriate pedagogy, an unsuitable curriculum, and ingrained, possibly unconscious, prejudice. Two things, nevertheless, were clear. Firstly, what was being offered to boys was seriously out-of-step with the rhetoric of equality that is a prominent characteristic of national and local education policy. And secondly, the school in this study, and others like it, must deeply question, and ultimately change, their practice in order to cater for boys as effectively as they cater for girls.

Martin (2007) and Bugler et al (2012) noted gender differences in the way students operated in the classroom. Bugler et al, for instance suggested that although boys behaved less well in the classroom, the tenor of this indiscipline was not oppositional. Rather, it was due to modes of behaviour and learning that made it difficult for some boys to operate in their current classroom situations: boys were more liable than girls to have hyperactive behaviours, cognitive issues, and concentration difficulties. In contrast, Martin (2007) noted that girls tended to display higher levels of persistence and organisation. The findings in this study suggested the possibility that teachers were misinterpreting higher levels

of classroom indiscipline in boys as a lack of motivation, oppositional anti-school behaviour, and a more negative attitude to school. Student self-reported data supported the notion that teachers were misinterpreting boys' actions. Boys openly acknowledged that their classroom behaviour was poorer than that of girls. However, the fact that by the end of the year there were no significant gender differences in attitude to teachers, lessons, and overall ratings of the school, suggested that these acknowledged behaviour differences were not rooted in oppositional attitudes. Nevertheless, it would be fair to speculate that while the root of boys' poorer classroom behaviour was not initially oppositional, if classroom practices do not change, and practitioners continue to perceive boys as they do, boys will become oppositional. As noted by Kelly (2009), and seen in both Hargreaves (1967) and Willis (1977), if boys feel the dominant forces in the school persist in judging them negatively, they will develop alternative behaviours which, in the eyes of their peers, will bring them credit.

The differences noted by pastoral practitioners between boys' and girls' attitudes in the wider school context suggested that, compared to girls, boys were being negatively judged outside, as well as within the classroom. Form tutors labelled boys as far less in-tune with school ethos than girls, and pastoral practitioners suggested boys had poorer relationships with staff and a less positive attitude to school. The combined classroom/pastoral practitioner factor score was emphatic:

boys were more negatively perceived than girls and the difference was large. These outcomes fit well with the findings of Van Houte (2007), Myhill and Jones (2006), and (Mullola et al 2012) that suggested teachers have more positive attitudes towards girls than to boys. The findings of Van Houte were of particular interest because they noted that male teachers, particularly, favoured girls, thus challenging the notion that boys' disengagement is due to the feminisation the school system.

It should be noted at this point that discrepancies found in this study between practitioners' perceptions of boys and girls are intertwined with, and have a significant impact upon, the achievement and attitudinal gaps between higher and lower socio-economic background students. Both initially and at the end of the year the findings indicated that there were no significant differences between better-off and less well-off girls in the way they were viewed by practitioners. But for boys the story was very different. Boys from poorer backgrounds were more negatively viewed than boys from better-off backgrounds and the differences, both initially and at the end of the year, were consistently large. In terms of social class, practitioners observed a deficit in boys but not in girls. Interestingly, the studies of Hargreaves and Willis were conducted in single-sex boys' schools. The findings of this study, particularly the interactions between gender and economic capital, suggested that had Hargreaves and Willis conducted their research on girls their outcomes would have been somewhat different. Can it be a coincidence that the majority of young

people who leave school as NEETS are males from low socio-economic backgrounds (Croll 2008)? The perceptions of practitioners suggest that, for poorer background male students, the path towards becoming NEET was already being set during their first year in secondary school.

Dermott (2012) discussed the academic discourse in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries on the relative impacts of gender and social class in terms of school outcomes for boys. She noted that the trend was to put less emphasis on gender and to increase the focus on social class. However, the findings of this study suggested that attempting to separate the effects of maleness and social class on poorer background boys was difficult. Practitioners saw distinct male/social class groups among the student body but they did not see distinct female/social class groups. Of course, this does not mean that social class differentials did not exist for girls, but only that they were not particularly visible to practitioners. For practitioners, the visibility of social class was inseparable from gender. If we accept that social class differences were present in boys and girls then we must also accept that, in the eyes of the school practitioners, they were manifest through maleness. Without maleness they would have no relevance. But why should this be the case?

It is possible that teachers may have had overly narrow, stereotypical, perceptions of masculinity such as those underlying the ‘Troops to

Teachers' initiative. Discussing this initiative Dermott (2012 p235) observed that one of the key problems with government thinking was that it was based on:

> *"a one-dimensional, and rather dated, image of military masculinity; one which reproduces rather than undermines traditional gender stereotypes."*

This simplistic, military-minded and machismo-based view of masculinity glossed over the fact that the tensions around both masculinity and social class are complex. They are far from the one-dimensional outlook that that 'Troops to Teachers' tended to encourage. However, the underlying tenor of government thinking illustrated by 'Troops to Teachers', and the associated values passed down from the macro-system, suggested that boys misbehaviour was an expression of military/macho maleness that could only be tackled with a stronger, more powerfully masculine response. As Dermott (2012 p228) observed, the government saw:

> *"masculinity as a potential problem in the classroom that can be resolved by the recruitment of teachers with a particular background and certain attributes."*

According to Dermott, the government's major concerns were poor discipline and underachievement. However, the government ascribed this indiscipline and underachievement to teachers' inability to enforce a hard-line military approach. In contrast, the findings of this study indicated that poorer background boys, according to their own testimony, did not have a problem with teachers. Their issues were with lessons that

did not motivate them and in which they were not being productive in terms of work completed.

What the ‘Troops to Teachers’ initiative illustrated was that government focused on a big-stick approach to improving behaviour and achievement rather than, as highlighted in the Steer Report (DfES 2005), improving behaviour through appropriate teaching and learning and practitioner expertise. This study demonstrated, through their lack of improvement in motivation over time, that unmotivated boys from poorer backgrounds did not respond to high levels of behaviour sanctions. The key problem with initiatives such as ‘Troops to Teachers’ is their focus on how to solve the symptoms of disengagement without understanding the causes of disengagement. The deficit approach, prevalent under New Labour and characterised by a plethora of initiatives and interventions outlined in Sodha and Margo (2010) and Kettlewell et al (2012), and underlying ‘Troops to Teachers’, rooted those causes in two groups of people. Firstly, in poorly brought up boys from disadvantaged communities who have not been properly inculcated with the moral and social values that would enable them to respect, succeed, and behave, in school. And secondly, in poor teachers who lacked the strength or power to command control in the classroom. The findings from this research suggested another location of deficit should be considered: that poor behaviour may be a protest against, and associated with, deficiencies in the classroom offer. These may partly be laid at the door of teachers and managers. But overall it is a deficit *bildungssystem,* in the values, expectations, and

conventions passed down from the macro-system and implemented in the classroom.

The 'Troops to Teachers' debate encapsulated a key question. Is it people or practices that need to change in order to improve outcomes for boys from lower socio-economic backgrounds? Should a deficit model, seeking to change the young people themselves, be adopted? Or should schools change their values, approaches, and offers, to cater for all the young people they serve? There are problems with the deficit approach. Firstly it tends to be reactive and interventionist. Secondly, it demonises those labelled as being in deficit, making their characteristics and situations responsible for that fact that schools do not offer them a curriculum and pedagogy with which they can engage. And thirdly, the consistency in the NEET numbers over several years suggests reactive and interventionist approaches are not particularly effective. Demos identified poor parenting, as opposed to factors related to schooling, as the key cause of disengagement (Sodha and Margo 2010). And so they called for a multitude of parenting programmes and family interventions. But what about the thousands of hours these children have spent in school? Have those also not failed to prevent disengagement? Kettlewell et al (2012) identified and appraised a range of interventions including special programmes, alternative curricula, and arrangements with external providers. Effective as such interventions variously may be, they are identified as alternative, extraordinary provision and thus emphasise

difference, leaving students ostracised from the mainstream. Underpinning all these interventionist approaches is an ideological arrogance that refuses to acknowledge that perhaps the mainstream curriculum and dominant pedagogical approaches, rather than individuals who struggle to engage with them, need to change. Perhaps the deficit is located within policy, practice, practitioners, and curriculum, rather than in a poor, and mostly male, demonised, minority.

The mismatch between the large practitioner-perceived and the modest self-reported differences between low socio-economic background boys and others suggested the possibility of misrecognition. One of the hallmarks of Bourdieu's notion of symbolic violence is "*méconnaissance"*, variously translated, according to Terdiman (1986), as miscognition or misrecognition (which will be used here). However, Terdiman, who translated much of Bourdieu's work, acknowledged that neither of these exactly summed up the true meaning of "*méconnaissance".*
Nevertheless, he clarified that Bourdieu was describing how an

> *"induced misunderstanding is obtained not by conspiratorial, but by structural means. It implies the inherent advantage of the holders of power through their capacity to control not only the actions of those they dominate, but also the language through which those subjected comprehend their domination."* Terdiman (1986 p813)

In spite of the fact that practitioners perceived low socio-economic status boys more negatively than others both initially and after one year, and

both within the classroom and in the wider school, and that these boys also received more behavioural sanctions and were placed in lower ability groups than others, boys from low socio-economic backgrounds were no more negative than others in their views on teachers or their overall ratings of the school. While they were less satisfied with their lessons than others, and to some extent recognised that they did not behave as well as others in class, they seemed not to attribute these things to teachers' attitudes or performance, or to the overall quality of the school.

Given that low socio-economic status boys were no more negative than anyone else about their school and their teachers, it must be assumed that they located the responsibility for their poor behaviour and dissatisfaction with lessons elsewhere. The findings suggested that they believed, as Ofsted had recently judged, that their school was a good school, and that their inability to conform and to get the most from their lessons was their own rather than the school's responsibility. It seemed that the school and its practitioners, who might be described as Terdiman's *"holders of power",* were controlling low socio-economic boys' understanding, or lack of understanding, of their own disadvantage. The boys were unable to connect poor lessons (lessons that left them disengaged and liable to misbehave) with poor teachers or inadequacies in the school's overall offer.

5.8 Ethnicity and EAL: identity, equality, and discrimination

An initial look at the findings for White and non-White students showed little difference in how practitioners viewed the two groups. There were no significant differences in any practitioner ratings, both initial and end-of-year, with the exception of detentions. Non-white students spent up to three times as much time in detentions as white students. Interestingly, this particularly applied to the Black/Black British and the Mixed-Heritage groups, but not to the Asian/Asian British group or students with EAL (of whom all but one were non-White). This reflects the findings of Gilborn et al (2012) that parents of students of Black/Caribbean heritage, or those perceived to be of such heritage such as Mixed-Heritage students (Tikly et al 2004), believed their children were subject to stricter discipline by teachers than other students. However, White and non-White students were perceived by practitioners as little different in terms of social competence, relationships with practitioners, positive attitudes to school, and conformity to the school ethos. And there were no significant differences in ability group placement. Similarly, there were no significant differences in practitioner perceptions of EAL and non-EAL students.

Nevertheless, student self-reported findings raised the possibility that practitioners should have been more positive about non-White and EAL students. There were no differences found between White and non-White students for initial and post-first year attitudes to teachers, lessons, and self-assessed behaviour, although EAL students were more positive than

others about their primary schools. However, non-White and EAL students had significantly higher levels of academic self-concept compared to others with the differences being apparent across the curriculum. Non-White students had a modestly higher academic self-concept than White students in Maths and English, both initially and after one year. However, for all subjects combined the initial moderate difference rose to large at the end of year seven. Similarly, EAL students initially had a modestly higher academic self-concept for all subjects compared to others that also became large a year later. These self-reported data suggested that practitioners may have been discriminatory because they failed to recognise the higher positivity of non-White and EAL students compared to others. The academic self-concept differences are particularly interesting in light of Gilborn et al (2012) in which interviews with sixty-two Black-Caribbean heritage parents made it clear that, thirty years on from the Swann Report, they felt teachers' expectations of their children remained too low. Parents' views were not available to this study. However, the failure of practitioners to reflect the higher academic self-concept of minority pupils in terms of ability group placement, teacher perceived motivation, and practitioner-perceived positivity, suggests that practitioners' expectations did not match those of the students.

Archer (2008 p92) discussed what she termed *"a moral panic"* around the perceived anti-authoritarian stances taken by Afro-Caribbean heritage

boys. The findings from this study were rather paradoxical on this point. Detentions apart, there was limited evidence to support the view that the seventeen Black/Black British students were seen by practitioners as having significantly poorer behaviour, conformity, or attitudes than other students. However, the twelve mixed-heritage students, all of whom were of Black-Caribbean/White heritage, had, by some margin, the poorest teacher-perceived motivation (initial and end-of-year), the highest level of classroom referrals and detentions, and the lowest practitioner-perceived positivity towards school, conformity to ethos, and ability to relate to staff, of any ethnic group. As stated previously, it is accepted that the small numbers of students in these groups makes these findings statistically unreliable. Nevertheless, they are powerful pointers to the need for further research. It is interesting to note that at the start of secondary school the mixed-heritage students had, like the other minority groups, a significantly higher academic self-concept than white students. However, by the end of the year their academic self-concept had dropped to marginally below that of White students, while the gap between White students and other minority groups had grown.

The differences between the Black/Black British group and the Mixed-Heritage group were interesting in light of the observation by Tikly et al (2004) that Mixed-Heritage identities were not seen by practitioners as discrete, but as part of a broader Black-Caribbean identity. However, the findings from this study suggested that to consider the Mixed-Heritage

and Black/Black British students as part of a single homogenous group would be a mistake. The Black/Black British group had the lowest economic capital of any ethnic group, while there was little difference in the economic capital of the White and Mixed-Heritage groups. Conversely, the Mixed-Heritage group had the lowest cultural capital level of any ethnic group. The Black/Black British group, on the other hand, had a similar amount of cultural capital to the White group, but by far the largest amount of cultural discussion in the home, and the highest level of participation in creative activities. The Black/Black British students had the highest mean attendance of any group, the Mixed-Heritage students had the lowest. The Mixed-Heritage group had three times as many classroom behaviour referrals and four times as many detentions as the Black/Black British group. And while three-quarters of Mixed-Heritage students lived with a single parent, this applied to just under a half of White students, and around one in three of Black/Black British students. Clearly, then, Tikly et al (2004) were right to challenge the stereotyping that sees Mixed-Heritage and Black-Caribbean groups as a single entity. If the findings in this study are anything to go by, the Mixed-Heritage group needs to be recognised by practitioners as a distinct ethnic group with distinct challenges.

A key question for practitioners is how to address what appears to be an increasingly disengaged Mixed-Heritage group. The practitioners in this study identified differences in behaviour and attitude between the Mixed-

Heritage and the Black/Black British groups. However, in failing to recognise the more positive self-reported academic self-confidence of non-White students compared to white students, and in giving a higher number of detentions to Black/Black British students compared to White students, practitioners may have been guilty of racial discrimination. Nevertheless, as with lower socio-economic status boys, there seemed to be misrecognition on the part of non-White, and particularly Black/Black British, students who were just as positive about the school and its teachers as other students. They did not seem to recognise the discrimination, and certainly did not locate it with teachers personally, or the school as an institution.

5.9 Issues for Students with an SEN

As the Audit Commission (2010) indicated, disengagement, particularly that leading to NEET status, was associated with a range of characteristics. One of these, as Sodha and Margo (2010) noted, was having an SEN. Certainly teachers in this study quickly perceived SEN students as significantly less positive than others, as the sizable difference between SEN and non-SEN students' initial teacher–perceived motivation grades indicated. SEN students were also adjudged to be of lower ability than other students and were almost exclusively placed in

lower sets for with Maths of English. However, teacher perceived classroom-based differences between SEN students and others, although remaining significant, did not increase over the year. Indeed, differences in teacher-perceived motivation dropped slightly. And while SEN students had significantly more classroom behaviour referrals compared to others, the difference was modest.

Nevertheless, in the wider context of the school SEN students were perceived as being more problematic than other students. Form tutors gave SEN students significantly lower levels of conformity to school values and ethos than others and pastoral practitioners suggested they had a less positive attitude to school than non-SEN peers. However, it was the socialisation challenges faced by SEN students that most stood them apart from others. The Bercow Report (DCSF 2008) noted that students with SLCN were liable to bullying, while Jordan (2008) described of the social isolation of ASD pupils, and Quinnell (2012) illustrated how dyslexia led to a breakdown of relationships with teachers and sometimes peers. Pastoral practitioners in this study certainly recognised the socialisation difficulties faced by SEN students in relationships with both peers and practitioners. SEN students were attributed with poorer relationships with staff compared to others, and the difference was large. However, pastoral managers perceived an even bigger difference between SEN students and others in their social competence in school (i.e. peer relationships, general popularity,

confidence, and bullying). In the eyes of practitioners the main issues facing SEN students revolved around relationships, especially relationships with peers.

It should be noted that SEN students often had characteristics making them more likely than others to elicit negative practitioner perceptions. For example, compared to others, they had lower levels of both economic and cultural capital and were also very likely to be in low ability groups for both Maths and English. Given these circumstances, it was unsurprising that practitioners perceived both academic and attitudinal gaps between SEN students and others. However, there is no evidence that practitioners' negative perceptions of SEN students increased over time, questioning the suggestion (Glazzard and Dale 2013) that schools pathologise SEN students.

Interestingly, the views of students themselves suggested that school practices were not widening either the achievement or the attitudinal gaps between SEN students and others. The touching account of the Wales and Lions Number 8 Scott Quinnell about how he enjoyed his primary school days, but found that dyslexia quickly led to disengagement and disillusionment in secondary school (Quinnell 2012) was not reflected in this study. While SEN students were found to be moderately more negative in their assessments of their primary school experiences compared to others, there were no significant differences

between SEN and non-SEN students in their initial views of teachers and lessons, self-assessed behaviour, and overall school rating. Furthermore, at the end of the year this was still the case. Certainly, SEN students began secondary school with a lower academic self-concept than others, particularly in Maths and English. But these academic self-confidence differences decreased somewhat over the year. Initially SEN students had a modestly lower academic self-confidence than others in all subjects, but one year later the difference was no longer significant. On the other hand, for Maths and English only SEN students had a moderately lower self-concept than others, a difference that was maintained a year later. But the self-reported attitudinal and academic self-concept findings perhaps cast doubt on the assertion in Glazzard and Dale (2013) that SEN students are marginalised by the current performativity agenda pushing schools to focus on standards and attainment rather than inclusion. Certainly, the self-reported data did not suggest that SEN students felt more marginalised than others in the classroom, but that they were becoming more comfortable academically as the year went on.

5.10 Issues of Parental Residence

On the whole self-reported differences between students with two-resident parents and others were rather small. Single-parent family students had slightly less positive views of primary school and a slightly

lower academic self-concept for all subjects than others. But there were no significant differences in other initial ratings. And one year later there were no significant differences between two-parent and single-parent students for any of the self-reported ratings. This, then, was consistent with the findings in Golombuk and Badger (2010) where the self-reported opinions of young adults did not differ between children of lone-parents and others. Nevertheless, practitioners' perceptions, particularly those rooted in the wider school context, did not always concur with students' self-reported views.

Practitioner-generated data from the wider school context highlighted somewhat larger differences than those rooted in the classroom. Students with a non-resident parent were seen as having a more negative attitude towards school, being significantly less likely than others to conform to the school ethos, and having poorer relationships with staff than others. Not surprisingly, then, they also had a higher number of detentions. However, although the classroom-based practitioner-perceived outcomes also suggested students from single-parent families had more negative attitudes than others, the differences were somewhat smaller than in the wider school context. This was consistent with Mooney et al (2009) who observed that the differences in educational qualifications between students from single-parent families and others were not very large. In this study there was no difference for initial teacher-perceived motivation and just modest differences for end-of

year motivation and classroom behaviour referrals. Ability group placement, too, supported the findings of Mooney et al. The difference in Maths group placement was not significant, and although single-parent students had lower English set placement than others, the difference was small.

However, the much larger difference in school attendance suggested that the achievement gap might increase if the single-parent students continued to have higher levels of absence compared to others. But why should this attendance occur? Could it be explained by other factors associated with single-parent families? It is worth considering the observation of Mooney et al (2009) that factors such as poverty were more influential on children's outcomes than family form. Certainly, the practitioner perceived differences for both economic capital and cultural capital groups were generally larger than those for parental residence. But it should be noted that there were no cultural capital differences between single-parent students and others and just a modest difference for overall economic capital. Nevertheless, there was a much larger difference in parental occupation showing non-resident parent families having lower parental job status than others, and single-parent students also had a higher number of siblings in the home than others. It may be, as Dunne and Gazely (2008) noted, that having low paid work possibly necessitating long or anti-social hours in order to make a living wage,

and having more children to cater for, had a negative impact on family functioning which, in turn, impacted on school attendance.

However, the findings of this study pointed to practitioner-perceived differences for parental residence status being considerably less marked than in other categories such as gender or capital possession. Nevertheless, the position of Mixed-Heritage students ought to be mentioned as a postscript. As indicated above, the fact that there were only twelve Mixed-Heritage students in this study means findings concerning them were statistically unreliable. Even so, they provided some interesting indicators. The Mixed-Heritage group were the only ethnic group in this study where a majority of students came from single-parent families. Indeed, only one in four Mixed-Heritage students reported living with both of their parents. And, as detailed in section 5.6, mixed-heritage student were, by some considerable margin, the most negatively practitioner-perceived group in this study.

5.11 Practitioners, the *Bildungssystem,* and the continuation of disadvantage

The findings of this study demonstrated that practitioners perceived large differences between students and these perceptions were strongly linked to students' possession of capital and their gender. Students with higher

levels of economic and cultural capital were the most positively perceived in the classroom, and seen as more in tune with school values, having better relationships with staff, and having a better attitude to school compared to others. These practitioner perceptions were evident within weeks of the students arriving at the school and were maintained over the first year. Girls were more positively viewed than boys in both the classroom and the wider school context. And while lower levels of economic capital in boys were linked to negative practitioner perceptions, this was not the case for girls. Certainly, there were suggestions of gender discrimination and stereotyping. SEN students were more negatively viewed than others in the classroom and perceived by practitioners as having social difficulties with both staff and peers. And while non-White and EAL students were not viewed more negatively than others, their higher levels of academic self-concept and, in the case of EAL students, their more positive initial attitudes to school, were not reflected in practitioner perceptions. Indeed, the higher number of detentions received by Black/Black British students suggested that they may have been subject to stricter discipline than others.

These findings raised some critical questions. Certainly, as discussed in section 5.5, capital-based achievement and attitudinal gaps would have been well established before students started at their new secondary school. But equally, it seemed that gaps between some disadvantaged groups and others were set to grow. This was particularly apparent for

lower socio-economic boys and students in lower ability groups. So, where does the responsibility for the continued growth of disadvantage lie? How much responsibility should be taken by the teachers and school leaders who implement policy and practice within the classroom? And how much responsibility rests further up the hierarchy, in the macro-system, where policy and practice is established and passed down to schools and classrooms?

To begin answering these questions we should examine the hegemonic force that dictates and maintains the dominant values of a school. We might call this the power of the *illusio,* particularly that part of the *illusio* that legitimises the inequalities apparent in the field. It should be remembered that the students in this study would have been in full-time education since the age of five. From this impressionable age they were brought up in classes where teachers were in charge, where teachers were the arbiters of what is good and bad, where teachers set and administered the norms of behaviour and purpose. Areas of learning were clearly defined. By the age of seven the students would have been tested on their knowledge of synthetic phonics and by the age of eleven the primacy of Maths, English, and Science would have been defined within the boundaries of SATs tests, with levels to establish comparative worth, success, and failure. The values within the *illusio*, then, would have been well established long before the students arrived at their new secondary school.

The power of the *illusio,* as Abraham (2008) demonstrated with ability grouping, persuades students to accept as legitimate values and yardsticks that may well disadvantage them. Schools, as organisations, implant a dominant ideology within students that has, at its heart, a notion that they should trust in the correctness of what schools do. In pragmatic terms, of course, this makes a school considerably easier to run. Yet it also embodies the symbolic violence of misrecognition, encouraging students to accept and take responsibility for their school's inequalities and failings (see section 5.6). And although it might be suggested that, in this era of centrally imposed performativity, this dominant ideology may not reflect the personal views of practitioners, it represents the values that, as employees, they have professionally consented to enforce.

As the findings of Goodman and Gregg (2010) and Feinstein (2003) have established, developmental and cognitive deficits are discernable in poorer background children by the age of three, and they get bigger as children progress through formal education. One should expect, therefore, that when the students in this study arrived at secondary school the education system, the *bildungssystem*, had (or should have been) been aware of these disadvantages for around eight years. Year after year, back to Hargreaves (1967) and beyond, secondary schools have known that they will receive new students from poorer backgrounds who are already struggling to succeed compared to their better-off peers. And year after year, as in this study, schools insist on a rigid curriculum offer which leads to better-off students being perceived as motivated,

positive, compliant, and successful, and less well-off students being seen as negative, unmotivated, failing, and poorly behaved. As Dudley-Marling and Lucas (2009) pointed out, poorer students are pathologized because they cannot succeed in what Savage (2003) highlights as the assumed normality where middle-class values are the yardstick.

It could be argued that the poorer and low cultural capital students in this study were being demonized by the school system. It was not an overt, public, media-led demonization such as that of the chav (Tyler 2013, Jones 2012). Rather, it was a subtle demonization, based on an undisputed belief (as noted in Gazeley and Dunne 2008) that ascribed students' own deficits, rather than curriculum, pedagogy, or resources, as the causes of their failure. The suit is not the wrong size, the wearer is the wrong shape. We may consider the suit as the one-size-fits-all academically-based, classroom-located mode of study. The seemingly undisputed way of doing things; ability-grouping, teacher-directed learning, writing-based assessment systems; the maths, English, history, geography, science, languages, and arts, etc. that are put forward as the universal curriculum. And the acceptance of this suit is Bourdieu's (1992/1996) *illusio.*

In order to be effective this *illusio* must be sustained and administered by the practitioners of the school. And external forces from the macro-system (Ofsted, the National Curriculum, the Department of Education, the media) both compel and enable practitioners to enforce it. The *illusio,*

nevertheless, is dependent on everyone in the field accepting, through coercion or choice, its value. It appeared, considering their self-reported overall ratings of the school and attitudes to teachers, that students with lower capital levels did this to the same extent as others. However, as their creeping dissatisfaction with lessons and their higher levels of classroom misbehaviour suggested, it may be that lower capital students' acceptance of the *illusio* will become increasingly enforced rather than agreed.

Bourdieu's exposition of the double habitus (Bourdieu 1991/1996) might well be applied to teachers whose individual habituses may be dominated by externally generated professional and performative pressures, while at the same time contributing to the collective professional habitus of an institution (Obembe 2013). Certainly, as illustrated by *Kathy's Story* (Scott 2012), practitioners themselves may be seen as subject to a corporately generated symbolic violence, in a process similar to that imposed on the Black working-class girls in Horvat and Antonio (1999), that makes them conform to the professional teachers' habitus. However, what was of interest in this study was the level to which practitioners had collectively acquiesced to, or failed to resist, the external pressures on their collective habitus, and the level of symbolic violence visited upon students by the collective dominance of practitioners and the values within their collective habitus.

Clearly there were some areas that the practitioners' collective habitus was unable, or unwilling, to resist. Perhaps the most obvious among these was the decision to group students by practitioner-perceived ability. A key question was the extent to which practitioners were conscious that grouping students in this way bestowed disadvantage and thereby constituted an act of symbolic violence. Certainly in the studies of Ball (1981), Hargreaves (1967), and Willis (1977) teachers were very aware that lower sets were more difficult to teach than top sets, a point echoed in Smith and Sutherland (2003). It must be considered likely, therefore, that the teachers in this study were conscious of differences in the character, and consequent differences in the quality, of the educational offer given to different ability groups. Certainly, the considerably lower motivation grades and the higher numbers of behaviour sanctions given to students in lower ability groups suggested that teachers were very aware of the negative characteristics within the lower groups.

However, in secondary school decisions on grouping practices are not generally taken at classroom-practitioner level. They are imposed by management under pressure, as noted by Trigg-Smith (2011), from the macro-system. In terms of ability grouping, then, the teachers could be painted as a conduit enabling the passage of symbolic violence from its origins in the macro and/or meso-systems to its infliction upon students in their microsystem. This idea of the worker as both victim and perpetrator-conduit of symbolic violence is not new. Indeed, as was seen in the

description of the foreman Hunter and his ‘coddies’ in *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists* (Tressall 1914), forces in the macro and meso-systems both enforce and reward the collusion of lower managers and supervisors (those who have stepped up from the lowest rung of the ladder) in maintaining the authority of the hierarchical system.

This depiction of practitioners as both recipients and wielders of symbolic violence can be applied to many crucial areas of school practice. The curriculum, for instance, has become increasingly centrally controlled since the 1988 Education Reform Act. Practitioners are limited in the variance they can apply. They are bound in nearly all Key Stage 3 subjects by Programmes of Study and Attainment Targets (DfE 2014b) enforced by their links to pay and promotion. For example, progression to the upper salary threshold is linked to Teacher Standards (DfE 2011c) which include the dictat that:

> *“Teachers must have an understanding of, and always act within, the statutory frameworks which set out their professional duties and responsibilities.”* (DfE 2011c p14)

Similarly, what passes for good pedagogy is increasingly decided by external agencies such as Ofsted. Teachers are coached and briefed in what Ofsted inspectors are looking for in terms of planning, delivery, and classroom organisation. For example, when the Association of School and College Leaders (ASCL) produced guidance on what constituted an

outstanding lesson (ASCL 2012) its strap-line contained the following rider:

> *"Practical guidance on how to make your teaching and lessons "outstanding" under the new Ofsted framework"*

On an individual level, then, a teacher who wishes to change curriculum and practice, making it more in-tune with the values and requirements of a particular class or group, is hamstrung. Such unilateral action jeopardises promotion and could lead to competency procedures or even dismissal. But more than this, by linking curriculum and practice to pay, promotion, and inspectorial success, the values of the macro-system are both legitimatised and normalised. They are endorsed by the steady stream of practitioners who are rewarded for outwardly displaying and promoting the values and practices considered acceptable by those higher up in the hierarchy. They are normalised as the accepted route for career progression and, becoming part of the collective professional habitus, they are given value in the *illusio.* Thus practitioners, through the power of symbolic violence, continue to pass on that symbolic violence and the norms it enforces, even when they puts some pupils at a distinct disadvantage.

As with ability grouping, we should ask whether or not the teachers in this study were aware of the disadvantages their curriculum and pedagogy passed on to certain groups of students. Once again, it must be concluded that they were. Students in lower sets were recorded as

having lower motivation than others when they first started at the school and a year later the situation was unchanged. Students from less well-off backgrounds were also recorded as initially less motivated than their better-off peers and the difference grew. Teachers gave poorer background students five times as many classroom behaviour referrals compared to better-off students. And the considerably lower initial levels of motivation given to lower cultural capital students compared to others plummeted further by the end of the year and they were given over nine times as many classroom behaviour referrals as high cultural capital students. Surely, it is barely conceivable that practitioners could not have been aware that poorer students and those with lower levels of cultural capital than others were also less engaged than others with their lessons. Of course, being aware of locations of disadvantage does not imply collusion in creating that disadvantage. However, the findings from this research questioned the suggestion that top-down values were necessarily being forced on practitioners against their will. It is by no means clear that acceptance of these values was always unwilling or, as in the case of *Kathy* (Scott 2012), emotionally stressful. Certainly, practitioners' perceptions suggested that they were most positive about students whose values and socio-economic status were closest to their own middle-class position, and that they accorded merit to those students who were best suited to, and most able to succeed in, the curriculum and organisation of the school. And the curriculum and organisation of the school was in line with the practices and values passed down from the macro-system. The implication here is that practitioners endorsed these

practices and values through the students they endorsed, while demonising students that did not adopt, or succeed, in them.

It is more than possible that rather than forcing practitioners to accept values that they found alien, the *illusio* within the *bildungssystem* itself was convincing practitioners of the legitimacy of a deficit model approach that located the responsibility for disadvantage within the disadvantaged themselves. Certainly, the arguments outlined in Anderson and Herr (2011) suggested a top-down school effectiveness approach, where the notion of effective teaching is endorsed and imposed from external authorities, encouraged deficit model thinking. The requirements of politicians and managers to find quick fixes or magic solutions to fulfil their need to demonstrate measurable rises in attainment or behaviour have created a culture of short-termism that permeates the standards debate. This has been neatly described as "*deliverology"* (Barber 2007 cited in Ball et al 2012). Practitioners will conform to top-down dictats not only because they cannot resist the top-down pressure, but also because they become persuaded that the *illusio* of the macro-system is legitimate. Top-down notions of effectiveness tend to be accompanied with an unquestioning faith in their own correctness. And as this correctness is passed down the *"Delivery Chain"* (Ball et al 2012), so also is deficit thinking. As Ball et al (2012 p521) pointed out:

"All teachers are expected to mobilise a set of targeted activities that will maximise student performance….Teaching and learning are 'adapted' to the processes of 'output'"

And where these processes do not work for certain groups of students, the deficit that should rest with those who created and imposed the processes is passed down, via Ofsted and other accountability mechanisms, to managers and practitioners, and from practitioners to students. Thus, when boys were not being motivated by their teachers as much as girls, the result was not a change in the effectiveness or style of teaching practices (as evidenced by the fact that the differences in motivation persisted, and even grew slightly, over the year). Instead, a much larger number of classroom behavioural sanctions were taken out against boys compared to girls. It would seem that the deficit was located by teachers in boys' attitudes in the classroom, for which they were duly punished, rather than in a pedagogy which was not working.

So, when it comes to locating the onus for the widening achievement and attitudinal gaps in our schools, where should the buck stop? Does responsibility rest with the *illusio* in the *bildungssystem* which, in turn dictates the values and practices of the *illusios* operating in individual schools? Or does it rest with schools and practitioners who endorse the values of the *bildungssytem* by creating their local *illusio*? Probably it rests, to some degree, in both. However, the findings of this study make one thing clear. Locating the onus within the disadvantaged themselves is

unlikely to prevent the future widening of achievement and attitudinal gaps between the haves and the have-nots.

6. An evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of this study and possibilities for future research

This section will not deal with the robustness of the methods as that has been covered in the methodology. Rather, it will reflect on the limitations of the study, on what went well, and on what parts of the study could be enhanced by further research.

One limitation of this research was the fact that was a single-school study. Certainly, critics would be entitled to say that because of this the findings have limited generalizability. To some extend this must be true. It represented a picture of a single school over a single school year, and, as teachers will affirm, all schools have aspects that make them unique. But all schools also have many facets and factors shared with other schools of a similar type. It should be remembered that a single-school study is not the same as a single person study. If we bear in mind that this research took data from over sixty practitioners and over one hundred and fifty students, then its generalizability increases. Indeed, this represents more participants than many surveys. It should also be recognised that focusing on a single school adds depth and colour to the picture that is painted. The superb studies by Hargreaves (1967), Lacey (1970), or Ball (1981) were effective because their vivid

depictions have a familial atmosphere. You feel that you are inside the school, peeking into the crannies and cultures of everyday life. And what studies like these lack in generalizability is more than made up for in relatabiltiy. We must remember that the purpose of this sort of study is not act in isolation to single-handedly change the world. Rather, it should add to the body of knowledge, building on the research that precedes it, and being a reference point for the research that follows.

One of the biggest decisions taken in the research approach was to employ a purely quantitative design. Indeed, the original intention was to follow a mixed-methods approach incorporating student and practitioner interviews. However, as the volume and quality of the quantitative data emerged it became clear that it merited and required the whole thesis in order to be fully analysed. What is more, because much, even most, of the quantitative data was attitudinal, it was, in effect, a numerical depiction of qualitative judgements. This is why it was decided that Kincheloe and McLaren's (2005) reconceptualization of qualitative critical theory approaches was appropriate to use. Of course, interviews may have added texture. On the other hand, one advantage of not using any interviews or focus groups was the fact that no particular voice dominated the debate. In a very real sense, every student in this research had an equal voice and an equal portrait.

The longitudinal aspect of this research was somewhat limited. Certainly, in terms of students' self-reported views and teacher

perceived motivation a good range of data were collected at two time markers. However, although the time markers were a year apart and showed the beginnings of disengagement and potential differential polarization in certain groups, it would have been interesting to follow up these beginnings at the end of students' second year in school and review them at the end of Key Stages 3 and 4. Similarly, although it was not possible to collect data from the students' primary schools, such data would have provided useful contextual markers. Other data, such as that on ability grouping and data from pastoral managers, were only available at a single time point and, certainly, a longitudinal element from these sources may have been useful. Nevertheless, taken as a whole, that data provided rich insights into student and practitioner perceptions and showed changing directions over time.

There is no doubt that this research has raised many areas that would benefit from exploration in future projects. Certainly, it would be interesting to see whether similar studies in schools of a different type, or with a different profile of students, produced similar findings, particularly in practitioners' perceptions of different categories of students. Also, it would be interesting to see if the much smaller between-group differences in students' self-reported attitudes to school, compared to practitioner perceived differences, were reflected in schools with a larger proportion of students with higher levels of socio-economic capital.

The outcomes for certain groups in this study merited further enquiry. One example concerns the attitudes and identity of mixed-heritage students towards school, particularly how they may be distinct from other minorities, and how much practitioners understand about the particular issues and needs of mixed-heritage students. Also, the causes of single-parent family students lower levels of attendance compared to others were not fully established in this research. How much was it due to associated factors such as poverty, and how much was it due directly to the pressures of running a family as a single parent? A qualitative study might also throw more light on the issues faced by SEN students, particularly the aspects of primary school that led them to be more negative than others about their primary school experiences.

Having demonstrated that on an institutional level there were considerable inequalities in practitioners' attitudes toward certain groups, it would be interesting to explore the individual views of practitioners. Do the findings surprise them? Do the findings reflect their individual aims and attitudes? Do they accept or resist the findings? It would also be interesting to explore the relationship of practitioners with the values and practices endorsed and/or imposed from the macro-system. To what extent do practitioners agree with these values and how much of their practice is imposed through coercion? Finally, perhaps the most important future research for practitioners concerns

how they might refine their practice in the light of the findings from this study.

7. Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusions

The literature review suggested that despite huge changes in school organisation, curricula, and management, class inequality remains ingrained within the culture of the English education system. That despite the era of supposed parity launched after Spens, despite the rhetoric of equality of opportunity spiralling through comprehensivisation, the choice-based scholastic marketplace, and New Labour's *Education, Education, Education* manifesto, what exists in today's schools is pseudo-equality where rhetoric is legitimatisation rather than reality. The literature review also suggested that the poorer elements of English society were regularly let down by practitioners and politicians who should have been nurturing their interests. The failure of Spens and Norwood to embrace the mantle of multi-lateral schooling, the failure of Anthony Crossland to require rather than request the removal of grammar schools, the failure of New Labour to reverse market-led privatisation and performativity agendas that encouraged a survival-of-the-fittest system where poorer families struggled to

compete, the failure of school leaders to embrace comprehensive principles in comprehensive schools.

The first and most important conclusion from this research was to affirm that historic prejudices based on social class and cultural values are still strongly present in English schools. They continue to result in school practices that disadvantage and marginalise certain students. And the most vulnerable students, according to this study, were boys from poorer backgrounds, and students who did not possess large amounts of the cultural capital that was valued by the school. This cultural capital particularly focused on reading habits, attitudes to books, and a knowledge of cultural figures in the arts, sciences, and politics. Although, as discussed previously, the nature of class has become more complex since the days when one could be defined as middle or working-class by dint of parental occupation, the data from this study suggested that those nearest the bottom of the socio-economic pile, particularly boys, were perceived less favourably by practitioners, and served less well by their school, compared to others. The findings suggested prejudice in that practitioners favoured students closer to their own socio-economic and cultural profiles, and discrimination in the fact these students were more likely than others to receive lesson that they found engaging.

The school also segregated students along social-class and cultural capital lines. This paved the way for the future emergence of polarised

pro- and anti-school groups. An elite group of high status pupils was apparent. This group strongly predominated in the top ability groups and was highly valued by practitioners. In contrast, although an oppositional subculture was not yet fully visible, there were signs that it was developing, particularly among low socio-economic status boys and in the lower ability groups. Students in lower ability groups were perceived by teachers to be less motivated than students in higher groups, while in the wider school context practitioners saw them as less in-tune with the school ethos, having less good relationships with staff, and being more negative towards school compared to higher ability group students. Perhaps the most worrying aspect of this situation was that lower ability group pupils did not enter secondary school with significantly less positive attitudes to school than students in advantaged groups.

There were strong differences between the judgements made by practitioners on boys and girls. The negative practitioner perceptions of boys suggested practitioner stereotyping and prejudice, particularly given the fact that the gender differences in school attitudes perceived by practitioners were far larger than those apparent in student self-reported data. From initial judgements onwards boys were perceived by teachers as far less motivated than girls. These perceptions persisted at the end of the year. It would appear that the curriculum and the pedagogical practices of the school were successfully engaging most girls and high socio-economic and cultural capital status boys. However, students from

poorer backgrounds, particularly boys, and those with low cultural capital, showed signs that they were becoming educationally disengaged. But while practitioners perceived large differences between boys with different socio-economic status, they perceived few differences between girls with different socio-economic status.

Students with SENs were perceived by teachers as less motivated than others. The also had twice as many behaviour referrals, and they were seen by practitioners as less likely than others to conform to school ethos. Pastoral practitioners suggested that SEN students had considerable social difficulties within school, finding it more difficult than others to have good relationships with peers and staff. However, it should be noted that SEN students were far more likely than others to be located in the lowest ability groups where their chances of becoming part of an oppositional subculture were highest. Yet, SEN students were just as positive as others in their self-reported attitudes to teachers, lessons, and the school.

There was some evidence to suggest that non-white pupils were subject to harsher discipline than white pupils. Also, the very positive self-reported attitudes to school of Black/Black-British and EAL students were not reflected in the practitioners' perceptions.

However, although some students were beginning to report dissatisfaction with their lessons, misrecognition was a common theme shared by low capital status students, boys, students with an SEN, non-White students, students with a non-resident parent, and students in lower ability groups. There was little difference between these students and others in their overall ratings of the school and their ratings of their teachers. It would seem, then, that they did not locate responsibility for their disadvantage with practitioners or the school.

The findings in this study suggested that the mixed-heritage group has particular issues and must be treated as a distinct ethnic minority. The mixed-heritage group had much larger levels of classroom behaviour referrals, and lower motivation scores, compared to other groups. Although this data has questionable validity, the strength of the differences suggests that further research is needed on this group.

Recommendations

The school should consider the following actions:

1. Practitioners should examine their attitudes to different groups of students. They should question whether or not they treat and perceive all groups fairly. They should ask themselves whether they are allowing their own backgrounds and/or values to influence the way they perceive certain groups. Practitioners should ask themselves the following key

question. Are my perceptions of students biased in favour of students nearer to my own social class, or whose cultural capital I share and value?

2. Senior managers and middle leaders should analyse school held data to understand which groups might not be engaging with the lessons and the curriculum they are being offered. They should use this analysis to inform practice, particularly in terms of differentiated curriculum content, pedagogical styles, vocational provision, and ability grouping.

3. The school should take steps to avoid deficit-model thinking in managers and practitioners. Where groups are found to be disengaged or unmotivated, the school should accept responsibility for this disengagement and review pedagogical, curricular, and grouping practices in order to re-engage and re-motivate students.

4. The school should consider using mixed-ability classes as a way of reducing social segregation within school. This would also reduce the likelihood of the development of an anti-school sub-culture caused by differential polarisation in lower sets. This could be implemented if senior managers are prepared to act decisively in persuading staff to embrace a mixed-ability approach, and to offer support and retraining for staff.

5. Practitioners and mangers should ask themselves whether gender stereotyping is leading them to favour girls over boys. If they conclude this is the case, then at an individual and at a corporate level practitioners and mangers should undertake awareness training to reduce levels of stereotyping. If they conclude that their perceptions are fair and not

influenced by stereotyping, then the school should reappraise curriculum offer and pedagogical practices in terms of gender.

National policy makers should consider the following points:

1. Policy makers and politicians should consider promoting mixed-ability teaching in secondary schools as a way of reducing social segregation and reducing the likelihood of lower ability group students developing polarised anti-school attitudes. Training initiatives should be made available to enable secondary school teachers to become confident in teaching mixed-ability groups.

2. Policy makers should consider the effectiveness of imposing national expectations in terms of curriculum, and teaching and learning styles, and enforcing these through stringent inspectorial regimes. Schools and practitioners should be encouraged to use their professional expertise at a local level to design engaging lessons and relevant content that motivates and meets the needs of their students, instead of attempting to persuade all students to fit into what may be inappropriate pedagogical styles with curriculum content that may not be engaging.

3. Policy makers should consider tackling the issue of post-16 NEETs by examining practice in the early years of secondary school. The findings of this study suggest that the early signs of disengagement can be detected during students' first year in secondary school. Schools

should be encouraged to implement imaginative approaches, possibly including a broader range of vocational options, to tackle potential disengagement before it becomes deep rooted.

4. Government should finance training for practitioners to raise their awareness of prejudice, particularly in terms of gender stereotyping, racial prejudice, and socio-economic bias. This provision should also be part of Initial Teacher Training for all new teachers, and rolled out as in-service training for serving practitioners.

Postscript

So what has this research achieved? What was the point of it all? For me, as a long standing practitioner, it highlighted the importance of continually questioning teaching methods and being prepared to challenge the status quo. This research has challenged my perceptions of myself and of my colleagues. In common with my fellow teachers, I have always aimed to treat everyone fairly and equally. But the data said that, as a collective, my colleagues and I have not achieved this. We may never achieve this. But, above all, we must not stop trying. As Paulo Friere said:

> *"It is necessary that the weakness of the powerless is transformed into a force capable of announcing justice. For this to happen, a total denouncement of fatalism is necessary. We are transformative beings and not beings for accommodation"* (Friere 1998 p36)

As practitioners we must not accept the powerlessness that sometimes seems inevitable in the centrally controlled and tightly monitored English education system. We must strive to transform and we must start that transformation with ourselves.

8. References

Abraham, J. (1989) Testing Hargreaves' and Lacey's Differential-Polarization Theory in a Setted Comprehensive, *The British Journal of Sociology,* 40 (1) 46-81

Abraham, J. (2008) Pupils' perceptions of setting and beyond – a response to Hallam and Ireson, *British Educational Research Journal* , 34(6) 855 – 863

Apouey, B., and Geoffard, P. (2013) Family income and child health in the UK, *Journal of Health Economics*, 32 715– 727

Adonis, A. (2012) *Education, Education, Education: Reforming England's Schools,* London, Biteback Publishing

Adorno, T. W. (1951/2005) *Minima Moralia,* translated Redmond, D. (accessed 15/09/13 http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/adorno/1951/mm/)

Adorno, T. W., and Horkheimer, M. (1997/1947) *Dialectic of Enlightenment,* translated by Cumming, J., London/New York: Verso

Altrichter, H., Feldman, A., Posch, P., and Somekh, B. (2008) *Teachers Investigate their Work: An introduction to action research across the professions, 2nd edition,* London: Routledge

Anderson, G., and Herr, K. (2011) Scaling Up "Evidence-Based" Practices for Teachers Is a Profitable but Discredited Paradigm, *Educational Researcher,* 40(6) 287-289

Araujo, M. (2007) 'Modernising the comprehensive principal': selection, setting, and the institutionalisation of educational failure, *British Journal of Sociology of Education,* 28(2) 241 – 257

Archer, L. (2008) The Impossibility of Minority Ethnic Educational 'Success'? An Examination of the Discourses of Teachers and Pupils in British Secondary Schools, *European Educational Research Journal,* 7(1) 89-107

Archer, L., and Francis, B. (2005) 'They never go off the rails like other ethnic groups': teachers' constructions of British Chinese pupils' gender identities and approaches to learning, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 26(2) 165-182

ASCL (2012) *What makes an outstanding lesson?* Leicester: Association of School and College Leaders

Audit Commission (2010). *Against the Odds: Re-engaging Young People in Education, Employment or Training*. London: Audit Commission

AutoTrader (n.d.) *AutoTrader Used Car Directory* viewed 15/09/13 http://www.autotrader.co.uk/used-cars

Baker, G. (2001) The romantic and radical nature of the 1870 Education Act, *Journal of the History of Edcuation* 30 (3) 211-232

Ball, S. (1981) *Beachside Comprehensive: A Case-Study of Secondary Schooling,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Ball, S. (2003a) The teacher's soul and the terrors of performativity, *Journal of Education Policy*, 18(2) 215-228

Ball, S. (2003b) The Risks of Social Reproduction: the middle class and education markets, *London Review of Education,* 1(3) 163-175

Ball, S., Maguire, M., Braun, A., Perryman, J., and Hoskins, K. (2012) Assessment technologies in schools: 'deliverology' and the 'play of dominations', *Research Papers in Education*, 27(5) 513-533

Barber, M. (2007) *Instruction to deliver: Tony Blair, the public services and the challenge of delivery*, London: Methuen

BBC (2013) Colley Lane School in Halesowen bans Black Country dialect, BBC News Online (access 15/02/14 http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-birmingham-24941692)

Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity,* London: Sage

Bennett, T., Savage, M., Silva, E., Warde, A., Gayo-Cal, M., and Wright, D. (2009) *Class, Culture, and Distinction,* Abingdon, Routledge

BERA (2011) *Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research,* London: British Educational Research Association

Bernstein, B. (1964) Elaborated and Restricted Codes: Their Social Origins and Some Consequences, *American Anthropologist* 66(2) 55-59

Bernstein, B., Elvin H., and Peters, R. (1966) Ritual in Education, *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series B, Biological Sciences*, 251(772) 429-436

Biressi, A., and Nunn, H. (2013) *Class and Contemporary British Culture,* Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan

Blanden, J., and Gregg, P. (2004) Family Income and Educational Attainment: a review of approaches and evidence for Britain, *Oxford Review of Economic Policy,* 20(20) 245-263

Boaler, J. (1997) Setting, Social Class and Survival of the Quickest, *British Educational Research Journal*, 23(5) 575-595

Boaler, J. (2005) The 'Psychological Prisons' from which they never escaped: The role of ability grouping in reproducing social class inequalities. *FORUM* 47 125-134

Boaler, J., Wiliam, D., and Brown, M. (2000) Students' experiences of ability grouping - disaffection, polarisation and the construction of failure, *British Educational Research Journal* 26 (5) 631-648

Board of Education (1906) *Report of the Consultative Committee upon Questions Affecting Higher Elementary Schools (The Dyke Report)* London, HMSO (accessed 15/09/13 http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/dyke1906/dyke06.html)

Board of Education (1923) *Differentiation of the Curriculum for Boys and Girls Respectively in Secondary Schools (The Hadow Report 1923)* London, HMSO (accessed 15/09/13 http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/hadow1923/hadow1923.html)

Board of Education (1927) *The Education of the Adolescent (The Hadow Report 1926)* London, HMSO (accessed 15/09/13 http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/hadow1926/hadow1926.html)

Board of Education (1938) *Secondary Education with Special Reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools (The Spens Report)* London, HMSO (accessed 15/09/13 http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/spens/spens1938.html)

Board of Education (1943) *Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools: Report of the Committee of the Secondary School Examinations Council appointed by the President of the Board of Education in 1941 (The Norwood Report)* London, HMSO (accessed 15/09/13 http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/norwood/norwood1943.html)

Bourdieu, P. (1992) *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field,* translated by Emmanuel, S. (1996), Oxford: Polity Press

Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J. (1977) *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture,* London: Sage

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. (1992) *An Invitation to Reflective Sociology*, Oxford: Polity Press

Bronner, S. E. and Kellner, D. (1989) *Critical Theory and Society: A Reader*. New York and London: Routledge

Bugler, M., McGeown, P., and St Clair-Thompson, H. (2013): Gender differences in adolescents' academic motivation and classroom behaviour, *Educational Psychology: An International Journal of Experimental Educational Psychology,* 2013 1-16

Bryman, A. (2008) *Social Research Methods, 3rd edition,* Oxford: OUP

Cabinet Office (2010) *The Coalition: our programme for government,* London: Cabinet Office

Caludon Castle School (2013) Prospectus. (accessed 15/09/2013 at http://issuu.com/caludoncastleschool/docs/2012-13)

Carr, A. (2000) Critical theory and the management of change in organizations, *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, 13(3) 208-220.

Chamberlain, T., Golden, S., and Bergeron, C. (2011) *Children and Young People's views of Education Policy,* London: Office of the Children's Commissioner/NFER

Chedzoy, S., and Burden, R. (2007) Marking time or moving on: Student perceptions of school life in year 8 and their attributions for their success and failure in learning, *Research in Education,* 77 16-32

Chitty, C. (2002) The Right to a Comprehensive Education, *The Socialist Educational Association (The Caroline Benn Memorial Lecture 2002)* (accessed 15/09/13 http://www.socialisteducation.org.uk/article/caroline-benn-memorial-lecture-2002)

Chowdry, H., Crawford, C., and Goodman, A. (2009) *Drivers and Barriers to Educational Success, Evidence from the Longitudinal Study of Young People in England,* London: Department for Children, Schools and Families

Chua, D. (2007) Rioting with Stravinsky: a particular analysis of The Rite of Spring, *Music Analysis* 26(1-2) 59-109

Churcher, J., Silverman, R., and Bentley, D. (2012) David Cameron says parenting classes are not 'nanny state', *The Independent Newspaper* 18/05/2012 (accessed 15/09/13 http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/david-cameron-says-parenting-classes-are-not-nanny-state-7765666.html)

Cohen, L., Manion, L., and Morrison, K. (2007) *Research Methods in Education (6th Edition),* Abingdon, Routledge

Coldron, J., Cripps, C., Shipton, L. (2010) Why are English secondary schools socially segregated? *Journal of Education Policy,* 25(1) 19-35

Coolican, H. (2009) *Research Methods and Statistics in Psychology,* London: Hodder and Stoughton

Coe, R. (2002) It's the Effect Size, Stupid. What effect size is and why it its important. *Paper presented at Annual Conference of British Educational Research Association, University of Exeter,* 12-14 September 2002

Connors, L., Putwain, D., Woods, K., and Nicholson, L. (2009) Causes and consequences of test anxiety in Key Stage 2 pupils: The mediational role of emotional resilience, *Examination Anxiety in Primary, Secondary and Sixth Form Students Symposium, Conference of British Educational Research Association, Manchester,* 5 -9 September 2009,

Costello, A. B., and Osborne, J. W. (2005) Best practices in exploratory factor analysis: Four recommendations for getting the most from your analysis, *Practical Assessment, Research, and Evaluation,* 10 (7)

Cribb, J., Sibieta, L., and Vignoles, A. (2013) *Entry into Grammar Schools in England*, London: Institute for Fiscal Studies

Croll, P., Attwood, G., Fuller, C., and Last, K. (2008) The Structure and implications of children's attitudes to school, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 56(4) 382-399

Dahl, G., and Lochner, L. (2008) The impact of family income on child achievement: evidence from the earned income tax credit*, NBER Working Paper Series*, Working Paper 14599

Dale, R. (1989) The Thatcherite project in education: the case of the City Technology Colleges, *Critical Social Policy* 9 (27) 4-19

Daly, M. (2010) Shifts in family policy in the UK under New Labour, *Journal of European Social Policy* 20(5) 433-443

Davies, P., Qiu, T., and Davies, M. (2014) Cultural and human capital, information and higher education choices, *Journal of Education Policy,* 29(6) 804-825

DCLG (2010) The English Indices of Deprivation 2010: Data Resources, (accessed 15/09/13 http://data.gov.uk/dataset/index-of-multiple-deprivation)

DCLG (2011) *The English Indices of Deprivation 2010 Neighbourhood Statistical Release,* London, Department for Communities and Local Government

DCSF (2008) *The Bercow Report: A Review of Services for Children and Young People (0–19) with Speech, Language and Communication Needs,* Nottingham: DCSF

Dearing, E., McCartney, K., & Taylor, B. (2001) Change in family income-to-needs matters more for children with less. *Child Development*, 72(6) 1779 – 1793

De Graaf, N., De Graaf, P., and Kraaykam, G. (2000) Parental Cultural Capital and Educational Attainment in the Netherlands: A Refinement of the Cultural Capital Perspective, *Sociology of Education*, 73(2) 92-111

DENI (2002) *Report of the Task Group on Dyslexia,* Belfast: Department of Education Northern Ireland

Denscombe, M. (2007) *The Good Research Guide for small-scale social research projects, 3rd edition,* Maidenhead, England: McGraw-Hill Education

Dermott, E. (2012) 'Troops to Teachers': Solving the problem of working-class masculinity in the classroom? *Critical Social Policy,* 32(2) 223-241

De Vaus, D. A. (1996) *Surveys in Social Research, 4th edition,* London: UCL

Devine, F. (2004) *How Parents Help Their Children Get Good Jobs,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

DfE (2009) Statistical First Release: GCSE and Equivalent Attainment by Pupil Characteristics in England 2009/2010, London, Department for Education

DfE (2010) *The Importance of Teaching, The Schools White Paper 2010,* London: The Stationary Office

DfE (2011a) Statistical First Release: Schools, pupils, and their characteristics January 2011, London, Department for Education

DfE (2011b) *Special Educational Needs Information Act*, Nottingham, Department for Education

DfE (2011c) *Teachers' Standards: Guidance for school leaders, school staff and governing bodies,* London, Department for Education

DfE (2013) Statistical First Release: permanent and fixed-term exclusions from school and exclusion appeals in England 2012/2013 London, Department for Education

DfE (2014a) Statistical First Release: GCSE and Equivalent Attainment by Pupil Characteristics in England 2012/2013, London, Department for Education

DfE (2014b) *The National Curriculum in England Key stages 3 and 4 framework document,* London, Department for Education

DfE (2014c) Statistical Working Paper: Measuring disadvantaged pupils' attainment gaps over time, London, Department for Education

DfE (2014d) Statistical First Release: Permanent and Fixed Period Exclusions in England: 2012 to 2013, London, Department for Education

DfES (2003a) *Every child matters,* Nottingham, DfES

DfES (2003b) *Excellence and enjoyment:* a *strategy for primary schools,* Nottingham, DfES

DfES (2005) *Learning Behaviour: The Report of the Practitioners' Group on School Behaviour and Discipline,* Nottingham, DfES

Diamond, J., Randolph, A., and Spillane, J. (2004) Teachers' Expectations and Sense of Responsibility for Student Learning: The Importance of Race, Class, and Organizational Habitus, *Anthropology & Education Quarterly,* 35(1) 75–98

DiMaggio, P., and Mukhtar, T. (2002) Arts participation as cultural capital in the United States, 1982–2002: Signs of decline? *Poetics* 32 169–194

Duckworth, K., Akerman, R., Morrison Gutman, L., and Vorhaus, J. (2009) *Influences and leverages on low levels of attainment: a review of literature and policy initiatives*, London: Centre for Research on the Wider Benefits of Learning, Institute of Education

Dudley-Marling, C., and Lucas, K. (2009) Pathologizing the Language and Culture of Poor Children, *Language Arts,* 86(5) 362-370

Dumais, S. (2002) Cultural Capital, Gender, and School Success: The Role of Habitus, *Sociology of Education*, 75(1) 44-68

Dumais, S. (2006) Early childhood cultural capital, parental habitus, and teachers' perceptions, *Poetics,* 34 83-107

Dunne, M., and Gazeley, L. (2008) Teachers, social class and underachievement, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 29(5) 451-463

Durrant, J., and Holden, D. (2006) *Teachers Leading Change: Doing Research for School Improvement,* London: Paul Chapman Publishing

Education Act (1944) *The Education Act* London, HMSO (accessed 15/09/13 http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1944/31/pdfs/ukpga_19440031_en.pdf)

Edwards, R., and Gillies, V. (2011) Clients or consumers, commonplace or pioneers? Navigating the contemporary class politics of family, parenting skills and education, *Ethics and Education*, 6(2) 141-154

Egan, D. (2012) *Communities, families and schools together: a route to reducing the impact of poverty on educational achievement in schools across Wales*. Cardiff: Save the Children

Endowed Schools Act (1869) transcribed in Gillard, D. (2011) Education in England (accessed 15/09/13 http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/acts/1869-endowed-schools-act.html)

Erceg-Hurn, D.M., and Mirosevich, V.M. (2008) Modern robust statistical methods: an easy way to maximize the accuracy and power of your research, *American Psychologist,* 63(7) 591-601

Erikson, R., and Goldthorpe, J.H. (1992) *The constant flux: a study of class mobility in industrial societies,* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Ferragina, E., Tomlinson, M., and Walker, R. (2013) *Poverty, Participation, and Choice: The Legacy of Peter Townshend*, York: The Joseph Rowntree Foundation

Feinstein, L. (2003) Inequality in the Early Cognitive Development of British Children in the 1970 Cohort, *Economica,* 70 73–97

Field, A. P. (2009) *Discovering statistics using SPSS (3rd ed.)* London: Sage

Floud, J. and Halsey, A. (1957) Intelligence Tests, Social Class and Selection for Secondary Schools, *The British Journal of Sociology,* 8(1) 33-39

Fowler, B. (2000) A Sociological Analysis of the Satanic Verses Affair, *Theory Culture Society,* 17 39-61

Freire, P. (1998) *Pedagogy of the Heart,* New York: Continuum

Freire, P. (2005) *Teachers as Cultural Workers: Letters to Those Who Dare Teach,* Westview Press

Fuchs, C. (2009) Information and communication technologies and society: A contribution to the critique of the political economy of the Internet.
European Journal of Communication 24(1) 69–87

Garnsey, P. (1976) Peasants in ancient Roman society, *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 3(2) 221-235

Gavin, H. (2008) *Understanding Research Methods and Statistics in Psychology* London: Sage

Gazeley, L., and Dunne, M. (2005) Addressing Working Class Underachievement, *Research Commissioned by Multiverse*

Gewirtz, S. (2001) Cloning the Blairs: New Labour's programme for the re-socialization of working-class parents, *Journal of Education Policy*, 16(4) 365-378

Garrahy, D. (2003) Speaking Louder than Words: Teachers' Gender Beliefs and Practices in Third Grade Classrooms, *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 36(1) 96-104

Giddens, A. (1998) *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*, Cambridge, Polity Press

Gillborn, D., Rollock, N., Vincent, C., and Ball, S. (2012) 'You got a pass, so what more do you want?': race, class and gender intersections in the educational experiences of the Black middle class, *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 15(1) 121-139

Gillard, D. (2011) Education in England: a brief history (available: www.educationengland.org.uk/history accessed 15/09/13)

Gillard, D. (2013) Elementary Education Act 1870 (full text online) (accessed 22/02/14 http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/acts/1870-elementary-education-act.pdf)

Gillies, V. (2005) Raising the 'Meritocracy': Parenting and the Individualization of Social Class, *Sociology* 39(5) 835-853

Giroux, H. (2009) Critical Theory and Educational Practice, In: Darder, A., Baltodano, M.., and Torres, R. eds. (2009) *The Critical Pedagogy Reader,* New York: Routledge

Glazzard, J., and Dale, K. (2013) Trainee teachers with dyslexia: personal narratives of resilience, *Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs*, 13(1) 26–37

Goldthorpe, J. (2007) “Cultural Capital”: Some Critical Observations, *Sociologica* 2/2007

Goldthorpe, J. (2012) Understanding – and Misunderstanding – Social Mobility in Britain: The Entry of the Economists, the Confusion of Politicians and the Limits of Educational Policy, *Barnett Papers in Social Research, Oxford University*

Golombuk, S. and Badger, S. (2010) Children raised in mother-headed families from infancy: a follow-up of children of lesbian and single heterosexual mothers, at early Adulthood, *Human Reproduction*, 25(1) 150–157

Goodman, A., and Gregg, P. (eds) (2010) *Poorer children’s educational attainment: how important are attitudes and behaviour?* York: The Joseph Rowntree Foundation

Gorard, S., and See, B. (2011) How can we enhance enjoyment of secondary school? The student view, *British Educational Research Journal,* 37(4) 671-690

Gove, M. (2012) *A coalition for good - how we can all work together to make opportunity more equal,* 12/5/12 speech at Brighton College

Gove, M. (2013) *Improving the quality of teaching and leadership in Schools,* 5/9/13 speech at The Policy Exchange, London (accessed 10/12/14 https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/michael-gove-speaks-about-the-importance-of-teaching)

Government Equalities Office (2010) *An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK,* London

Green, A. (2003) Is UK Education Exceptionally Unequal? Evidence from the IALS and PISA Surveys., *FORUM*, 45 (2) 67-70

Green, D. (2006) Historically Underserved Students: What We Know, What We Still Need to Know, *New Directions for Community Colleges,* 135 21-28

Green, R., Beszterczey, S., Katzenstein, T., Park, K., and Goring, J. (2002) Are Students with ADHD More Stressful to Teach? Patterns of Teacher Stress in an Elementary School Sample, *Journal of Emotional and Behavioural Disorders,* 10(2) 79-89

Green, S. (1991) How many subjects does it take to do a regression analysis? *Multivariate Behavioural Research,* 26(3) 499-510

Griffiths, A. (2009) Identifying the causes of Fixed-Term and Permanent Exclusions of SEN students in a West Midlands Academy, *Unpublished Masters Paper submitted to Birmingham City University*

Griffiths, A. (2010) Exploring the links between Ability grouping, Economic Capital, and Attitudes to School in a West Midlands Academy, *Unpublished Masters Paper submitted to Birmingham City University*

Habermas, J. (1974) *Theory and Practice,* London, Heinemann

Habermas, J. (1988) *Legitimation Crisis,* Cambridge, Polity Press

Hallam, S. and Ireson, J. (2001) *Ability Grouping in Education,* London: Sage

Hallam, S. and Ireson, J. (2006) Secondary school pupils' satisfaction with their ability grouping placements, *British Educational Research Journal,* 33(1) 27 – 45

Hallam, S. and Ireson, J. (2007) Secondary school pupils' preferences for different types of structured grouping practices, *British Educational Research Journal,* 32(4) 583 – 599

Hallam, S., Ireson, J. and Davies, S. (2002) *Effective pupil grouping in the primary school,* London: David Fulton

Halsey, A., Heath, A., and Ridge, J. (1980) *Origins and Destinations*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

Hargreaves, D. (1967) *Social Relations in a Secondary School,* London, Routledge & Kegan Paul

Hart, B., & Risley, T. (1995). *Meaningful differences in the everyday experiences of young American children,* Baltimore: Brookes

Hartas, D. (2010) *Educational Research and Enquiry,* London: Continuum

Hartas, D. (2011) Families' social backgrounds matter: socio-economic factors, home learning and young children's language, literacy and social outcomes, *British Educational Research Journal* 37(6) 893–914

Harvey, D. (2005) *A Brief History of Neoliberalism,* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Hatcher, R. (2012) Social class and schooling: differentiation or democracy? In Cole, M. (ed.) *Education, Equality and Human Rights (3rd edition)*. London: Routledge Falmer

Haywood, K., and Yar, M. (2006) The ‘chav’ phenomenon: Consumption, media and the construction of a new underclass*, Crime Media Culture* 2(9) 9-28

Henson, R., and Roberts, J. (2006) Use of exploratory factor analysis in published research: Common errors and some comment on improved practice, *Educational and Psychological Measurement,* 66 393-416

HMSO (1997) White Paper: Excellence in Schools. (accessed 15/09/13 http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/wp1997/excellence-in-schools.html)

HMSO (2003) *Every Child Matters*, London: The Stationery Office

Hobbs, G., and Vignoles, A. (2010) Is children's free school meal 'eligibility' a good proxy for family income? *British Educational Research Journal*, 36(4) 673-690

Hoeckel, K., and Schwartz, R. (2010) *Learning for Jobs OECD Reviews of Vocational Education and Training, Germany,* Paris: OECD

Hoff, E. (2003) ‘The specificity of environmental influence: socioeconomic status affects early vocabulary development via maternal speech’, *Child Development*, 74(5) 1368–78

Home Office (1999) Supporting Families, London, HMSO

hooks, b. (1994) *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom.* NewYork: Routledge

Horgan, G. (2007) *The impact of poverty on young children’s experience of School*, York: The Joseph Rowntree Foundation

Horovitz, J. (2008) The New world Symphony and Discord, *The Chronicle of Higher Education,* 11/01/08

Horvat, E., and Antonio, A. (1999) "Hey, Those Shoes Are Out of Uniform": African American Girls in an Elite High School and the Importance of Habitus, *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 30(3) 317-342

Huang, C. (2011) Self-concept and academic achievement: A meta-analysis of longitudinal relations, *Journal of School Psychology* 49 505–528

Husu, H (2013) Bourdieu and Social Movements: Considering Identity Movements in Terms of Field, Capital and Habitus, *Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protest*, 12(3) 264-279

Hutchings, M., Francis, B., and De Vries, R. (2014) *Chain Effects*

The impact of academy chains on low income students, London: The Sutton Trust

Ingram, N. (2009) Working-class boys, educational success and the misrecognition of working-class culture, *British Journal of Sociology of Education,* 30(4) 421-434

Ireson, J., & Hallam, S. (1999). Raising standards: is ability grouping the answer? *Oxford Review of Education*, 25(3) 343-358

Ireson, J., & Hallam, S., and Hurley, C. (2005) What are the effects of ability grouping on GCSE attainment? *British Educational Research Journal,* 31(4) 443-458

Jackson, B. & Marsden, D. (1962) *Education and the working class: some general themes raised by a study of 88 working class children* London, Penguin

Jackson, B. & Marsden, D. (1966) *Education and the working class: some general themes raised by a study of 88 working class children (revised edition)* London, Pelican

Jerim, J. (2013) *Family background and access to high 'status' universities*, London: The Sutton Trust

Jones, K. (2003) *Education in Britain 1944 to the Present,* Cambridge, Polity Press

Jones, O. (2012) *Chavs: The Demonization of the Working Class,* London: Verso

Jordan, R. (2008) Autistic spectrum disorders: a challenge and a model for inclusion in education, *British Journal of Special Education*, 35(1) 11-15

Kelly, S. (2009) Social identity theories and educational engagement*, British Journal of Sociology of Education,* 30(4) 449 – 462

Kelly, S., and Carbonaro, W. (2012) Curriculum tracking and teacher expectations: evidence from discrepant course taking models, *Social Psychology of Education*, 15 271–294

Kerckhoff, A.C. (1986) Effects of ability grouping in British secondary schools., *American Sociological Review*, 51(6) 842-858

Kettlewell, K., Southcott, C., Stevens, E., and McCrone, T. (2012). *Engaging the Disengaged* (NFER Research Programme: From Education to Employment). Slough: NFER

Keys, W., Sharp, C., Greene, K., and Grayson, H. (2003) *Successful Leadership of Schools in Urban and Challenging Contexts,* Nottingham, National College of School Leadership (NCSL)

Kincheloe, J. L., and Mclaren, P. (2005) Rethinking Critical Theory and Qualitative Research, In: Kincheloe (2011) *Key woks in Critical Pedagogy* 285-325, Rotterdam: Sense Publishers

Kirkup, C., Sizmur, J., Sturman, L., and Lewis, K. (2005) *Schools' Use of Data in Teaching and Learning, Research Report RR671*, Nottingham, DfES Publications

Kutnick, P., Hodgkinson, S., Sebba, J., Humphreys, S., Galton, M., Steward, S., Blatchford, P., and Baines, E. (2006) *Pupil Grouping Strategies and Practices at Key Stage 2 and 3: Case Studies of 24 Schools in England (Research Report RR796),* Nottingham: DfES

Kutnick, P., Sebba, J., Blatchford, P., Galton, M., and Thorp, J. (2005) *The Effects of Pupil Grouping: Literature Review (Research Report RR688),* Nottingham: DfES

Lacey, C. (1970) *Hightown Grammar: the school as a social system* Manchester University Press

Lantz, B. (2013) The impact of sample non-normality on ANOVA and alternative methods, *British Journal of Mathematical and Statistical Psychology,* 66 224-244

Lareau, A. (2003) *Unequal Childhoods: class, race, and family life*, Berkeley: University of California Press

Lareau, A. and Weininger, E. B. (2003) Cultural capital in educational research: a critical assessment, *Theory and Society,* 32 567–606

Legewie, J., and DiPrete, T. (2012) School Context and the Gender Gap in Educational Achievement, *American Sociological Review,* 77:3 463–485

Levitas, R. (2005) *The Inclusive Society? Social Exclusion and New Labour (2nd Edition),* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Liddle, R (2012) The final victory of middle-class football, *The Spectator,* 21/07/2012

Lumby, J. (2011) Enjoyment and learning: policy and secondary school learners' experience in England, *British Educational Research Journal,* 37(2) 247-264

MacCallum, R. C., Widaman, K. F., Zhang, S., & Hong, S. (1999). Sample size in factor analysis, *Psychological Methods*, 4 84–89

MacInnes, T., Aldridge, H., Bushe, S., Kenway, P., and Tinson, A. (2013) *Monitoring Poverty and Social Exclusion*, York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation

Macpherson, W. (1999) *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry,* London, The Stationary Office

Marcuse, H. (1964) *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society,* Boston: Beacon Press (accessed 23/09/13 http://www.marcuse.org/herbert/pubs/64onedim/odmcontents.html)

Marland, M. (Ed.) (1983) *Sex differences and schooling*, London: Heinemann

Martin, A. (2007) Examining a multidimensional model of student motivation and engagement using a construct validation approach, *British Journal of Educational Psychology,* 77 413–440

Miles, J., and Shevlin, M. (2001) *Applying Regression and Correlation: A Guide for Students and Researchers,* London: Sage

Mooney, A., Oliver, C., and Smith M. (2009) *Impact of Family Breakdown on Children's Well-Being: Evidence Review, Research Report 113,* London: DCSF

Mortimore, P. (2008) In memoriam, *The Guardian Newspaper,* 03/06/2008 (accessed 15/09/13 http://www.theguardian.com/education/2008/jun/03/schools.uk1)

Muller-Doohm, S. (2009) *Adorno: A Biography,* Cambridge, Polity Press

Mullola, S., Ravaja,N., Lipsanen, J., Alatupa, S., Hintsanen, M., Jokela, M., and Keltikangas-Järvinen, L. (2012) Gender differences in teachers' perceptions of students' temperament, educational competence, and teachability*, British Journal of Educational Psychology,* 82 185–206

Myhill, D., and Jones, S.(2006) 'She doesn't shout at no girls': pupils' perceptions of gender equity in the classroom, *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 36(1) 99-113

NUT (2013) *Challenging gender stereotypes through primary education*, National Union of Teachers/Ruskin Press

Obembe, D. (2013) Knowledge sharing, sustained relationships and the habitus, *Management Learning*, 44: 355-372

Ofsted (2010) *The framework for school inspection,* Ref 090019, Manchester, England

Ofsted (2013) *School Data Dashboard Guidance*, Ref 130062, Manchester, England

Ofsted (2014) *School Inspection Handbook*, Manchester, England

Oliver, C. and Kettley, N. (2010) Gatekeepers or facilitators: the influence of teacher habitus on students' applications to elite universities, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 31(6) 737-753

ONS (2010a) *Standard Occupational Classification 2010 Volume 1: Structure and descriptions of unit groups*, Office for National Statistics (UK)/Palgrave MacMillian

ONS (2010b) *Standard Occupational Classification 2010 Volume 2: The Coding Index*, Office for National Statistics (UK)/Palgrave MacMillian

ONS (2013) *Opinions and Lifestyle Survey, Smoking Habits amongst Adults, 2012,* Office for National Statistics (UK)

ONS (n.d) The Standard Occupational (SOC) Hierarchy online tool, Office for National Statistics (UK) (accessed 15/09/13 http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/HTMLDocs/dev3/ONS_SOC_hierarchy_view.html)

OED (2010) Oxford English Dictionary online, 3rd Edition (accessed 22/02/14 http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/33874?isAdvanced=false&result=1&rskey=DRKhZl&)

Pakuslski, J. and Waters, M. (1996) *The Death of Class,* London: Sage

Paton, G. (2010) Children in single parent families 'worse behaved', *The Daily Telegraph,* 15/10/2010 (accessed 20/01/14 http://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/educationnews/8064435/Children-in-single-parent-families-worse-behaved.html)

Peck, S. (2014) David Cameron's 'parenting classes' flop, as barely any parents show up, *The Daily Telegraph,* 04/04/2014 (accessed 10/06/14 http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/mother-tongue/10745128/David-Camerons-parenting-classes-flop-as-barely-any-parents-show-up.html)

Powdthavee and Vignoles (2009) The socio-economic gap in university drop out, *Discussion Papers in Economics* 2008/23, Department of Economics and Related Studies, University of York

Pring, R. and Walford, G. (1996) Comprehensive Schools: the history, *Times Higher Education* 12/01/1996 (accessed 15/09/13 http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/story.asp?storyCode=92186&sectioncode=26)

Quinnell, S. (2012*) The Hardest Test* (Kindle Edition)*,* Bedlinog, Mid-Glamorgan: The Accent Press

Reardon, S. (2011) The Widening Academic Achievement Gap Between the Rich and the Poor: New Evidence and Possible Explanations, in Duncon, G. and Murnane, R. (eds) (2011) *Whither Opportunity? Rising Inequality, Schools, and Children's Life Chances,* New York: Russell Sage Foundation

Reay, D. (2002) Shaun's Story: Troubling discourses of white working-class masculinities, *Gender and Education*, 14(3) 221-234

Reay, D. (2004) 'It's all becoming a habitus': beyond the habitual use of habitus in educational research, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 25:4, 431-444

Reay, D. (2006) The zombie stalking English schools: social class and educational inequality, *British Journal of Educational Studies,* 54(3) 288 –307

Reay, D., Crozier, G., and Clayton, J (2006) ‘Fitting in’ or ‘standing out’: working class students in UK higher education, *British Educational Research Journal,* 36(1) 107–124

Reay, D., Hollingworth, S., Williams, K., Crozier, G., Jamieson, F, James, D., and Beedell, P. (2007) ‘A Darker Shade of Pale?’ Whiteness, the Middle Classes and Multi-Ethnic Inner City Schooling, *Sociology,* 41(6) 1041–1060

Riley, K. (1993) The abolition of the ILEA: some implications for the restructuring of local government, *Public Money & Management*, 13:2, 57-60

Roberts, K. (2011) *Class in Contemporary Britain,* London: Palgrave Macmillan

Robertson, A. (1949) Antonin Dvorak. In: Hill, R. (1949) *The Symphony,* London, Pelican

Robinson, J., and Kirkcaldy, A. (2007) ‘You think that I’m smoking and they’re not’: Why mothers still smoke in the home, *Social Science & Medicine*, 65(4) 641–652

Robinson, K. (2006) How schools kill creativity, TED talks February 2006 (accessed 22/02/14 http://www.ted.com/talks/ken_robinson_says_schools_kill_creativity)

Robson, C. (2002) *Real World Research, 2nd edition,* Oxford: Blackwell

Roger, J. (2014) More parents prosecuted for not sending children to school, *Coventry Telegraph,* 11/07/2014 (accessed 12/07/14 http://www.coventrytelegraph.net/news/coventry-news/more-warwickshire-parents-prosecuted-not-7411204)

Rose, D., and Harrison, E. (2007) The European Socio-Economic Classification: a new social class schema for comparative European research, *European Societies* 9(3)

Rose, D., and Pevalin, D. (2010) *Re-basing the NS-SEC on SOC2010: A Report to ONS,* Office for National Statistics (UK)

Sabates, R., and Duckworth, K. (2009) *The impact of mothers' learning on their children's academic performance at Key Stage 3: evidence from* ALSPAC, London: Centre for Research on the Wider Benefits of Learning, Institute of Education

Savage, M. (2003) 'A New Class Paradigm: Review Article', *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 23(4): 535–41

Schmitt, T. (2011) Current methodological considerations in exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis, *Journal of Psychoeducational Assessment,* 29 301-321

Schofield, J. (2010) International Evidence on Ability Grouping With Curriculum Differentiation and the Achievement Gap in Secondary Schools, *Teachers College Record*, 112(5) 1492–1528

Schultz, B., and Evans, S. (2012) Sources of Bias in Teacher Ratings of Adolescents with ADHD, *Journal of Educational and Developmental Psychology,* 2(1) 151-162

Scott, A. (2014) Turkey's YouTube and Twitter bans show a government in serious trouble, *The Guardian Newspaper,* 28/03/2014 (accessed 01/04/14 http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/mar/28/turkey-youtube-twitter-ban-government-trouble)

Scott, B. (2012) Caring Teachers and Symbolic Violence: Engaging the Productive Struggle in Practice and Research, *Educational Studies*, 48(6) 530-549

Sherman, J., Rasmussen, C., and Baydala, L. (2008) The impact of teacher factors on achievement and behavioural outcomes of children with Attention Deficit / Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD): a review of the literature, *Educational Research*, 50(4) 347-360

Simon, B. (1976) *Two Nations and the Educational Structure, 1780-1870,* London, Lawrence and Wishart

Simon, B. (1992) The Politics of Comprehensive Education: a retrospective analysis. In: Simon, B (1994) *The State and Educational Change: Essays in the History of Education and Pedagogy,* London, Lawrence and Wishart

Smith, M., and Sutherland, M. (2003) Setting or mixed ability? Teachers' views of the organisation of pupils for learning, *Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs,* 3(3) 141–146

Sodha, S., and Guglielmi, S. (2009) *A Stitch in Time: Tackling disengagement interim report,* London: Demos

Sodha, S., and Margo, J. (2010) *Ex Curricula,* London: Demos

Sørensen, A. (2000) Toward a Sounder Basis for Class Analysis, *American Journal of Sociology*, 105:6 1523-1558

Sosu, E., and Ellis, S. (2014) *Closing the Attainment Gap in Scottish Education*, York: The Joseph Rowntree Foundation

Stewart, S. (2010) *Culture and the Middle Classes,* Farnham: Ashgate

Sukhnandan, L. and Lee, B. (1998) *Streaming, Setting and Grouping by Ability.* Slough: NFER

Sullivan, A. (2001) Cultural Capital and Educational Attainment, *Sociology,* 35 893-912

Sullivan, A. (2007) Cultural Capital, Cultural Knowledge, and Ability, *Sociological Research Online,* 12:6 1-21

Sumner, C. (2010) 1945 – 1965: The Long Road to Circular 10/65, *Reflecting Education,* 6(1) 90-102

Sutton, L., Smith, N., Dearden, C., and Middleton, S. (2007*) A child's-eye view of social difference,* York: The Joseph Rowntree Foundation

Sutton Trust (2009) *Attainment gaps between the most deprived and advantaged schools: a summary and discussion of research by the Education Research Group at the London School of Economics*, London: The Sutton Trust

Sutton Trust (2011) *Degrees of Success: University Chances by Individual School,* London: The Sutton Trust

Sutton Trust (2013) *Selective Comprehensives: The social composition of top comprehensive schools,* London: The Sutton Trust

Sutton Trust (2014) *Mobility Manifesto,* London: The Sutton Trust

Swann, M. (1985) *The Swann Report: Education for All,* London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office

Terdiman, R. (1986) Translator's Introduction to Bourdieu, P. The Force of Law: Toward a Sociology of the Juridical Field, *Hastings Law Journal,* 38 805-853

Thalheimer, W., and Cook, S. (2002) How to calculate effect sizes from published research articles: A simplified methodology (accessed 05/09/13 http://education.gsu.edu/coshima/eprs8530/effect_sizes_pdf4.pdf)

Thompson, B. (2004a) *Exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis: understanding concepts and applications*, Washington DC: American Psychological Association

Thompson, B. (2004b) The "significance" crisis in psychology and education, *The Journal of Socio-Economics* 33 607–613

Tikly, L., Caballero, C., Haynes, J., and Hill, J. (2004) *Understanding the Educational Needs of Mixed Heritage Pupils (Research Report RR549*), Nottingham: Department for Education

Toynbee, P. (2011) Chav: the vile word at the heart of fractured Britain, *The Guardian,* 31/05/2011 (accessed 15/10/13 http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/may/31/chav-vile-word-fractured-britain)

Tressall, R. (1914) *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists,* London: Grant Richards

Trigg-Smith, R. (2011) Investigating Headteachers' Impact on Grouping Practices: Justifying an Analysis on How Headteachers Incorporate Ideas of Equity into Grouping Practices, *Educate, Kaleidoscope Special Issue* 28-44

Turner-Bisset, R. (2007) Performativity by stealth: a critique of recent initiatives on creativity, *Education 3-13,* 35(2) 193-203

Tyler, I. (2013) *Revolting Subjects: Social Abjection and Resistance in Neoliberal Britain,* London: Zed Books

Van Houtte, M. (2007) Exploring teacher trust in technical/vocational secondary schools: Male teachers' preference for girls, *Teaching and Teacher Education,* 23 826–839

Vryonides, M. (2007) Social and cultural capital in educational research: issues of operationalisation and measurement, *British Educational Research Journal,* 33:6 867-885

Wacquant, L. (1996) Reading Bourdieu's "Capital", *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology,* 33(2) 152-170

Warde, A. (2004) Practice and field: revising Bourdieusian concepts, *Centre for Research on Innovation and Competition* (Discussion Paper 65), University of Manchester

Wiliam, D. and Bartholomew, H. (2004) It's not which school but which set you're in that matters: the influence of ability grouping practices on student progress in mathematics, *British Educational Research Journal,* 30(2) 279-293

Williams, B., Onsman, A., and Brown, T. (2010) Exploratory factor analysis: A five step guide for novices, *Journal of Emergency Primary Health Care,* 8(3) Article 1

Willis, P. (1977) *Learning to Labour: How working class kids get working class jobs,* Farnborough (UK): Saxon House

Wilson, P. (2011) *A Rapid Evidence Assessment Investigating the Drop in Attainment during the Transition Phase with a Particular Focus on Child Poverty*, Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government Social Research

Wilson, S. and Maclean, R. (2011) *Research Methods and Data Analysis for Psychology,* London: McGraw-Hill Education

Wright, E. (2005) Conclusion: If "class" is the answer, what is the question?" in Wright, E. (ed.), *Approaches to Class analysis,* Cambridge University Press

Yarnit, M. (2014) Grammar schools have always excelled at sifting out the lower orders: social mobility for the few, *The New Statesman,* 17/12/14 (accessed 20/12/14 http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2014/12/grammar-schools-have-always-excelled-sifting-out-lower-orders)

Zartler, U. (2014) How to deal with Moral Tales, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 76 604–619

Appendix 1: Student Questionnaire Questions

A. Questions from the Student Initial Attitudinal Questionnaire

1 Your Primary School

a. What did you think of your primary school?

it was great good most of the time OK not too good really bad

b. How much did you learn in your primary school?

loads quite a lot some not much nothing

c. What did you think of the teachers in your primary school?

I liked them all

I liked most of them

I liked some

I only liked a few

I didn't like any

d. Did the teachers like you?

Yes – all of them

yes - mostly

some of them did

only a few liked me

none liked me

e. What did you think of the other children in your primary school?

I liked them all

I liked most of them

I liked some

I only liked a few

I didn't like any

f. Did you have many friends in your primary school?

Yes loads quite a lot some just a few none

2 How good do you think you are in the following subjects?

For each subject students circled one of the following:

Really good Quite good OK Not too good Terrible

Maths

English

Science

PE

Humanities

ICT/Business:

RE/Values

Technology

Music

Art

Drama

3. About your new school

a. Are the teachers nice people?

Yes - all of them yes - mostly some of them only a few none of them

b. Would you say they are good teachers?

Yes - all of them yes - mostly some of them only a few none of them

c. Are the teachers fair?

Yes - all of them yes - mostly some of them only a few none of them

d. How much work do you do in your lessons?

loads quite a lot some not much nothing

e. How do other students behave in your lessons?

always good

mostly good

OK

some messing about

a lot of messing about

f. How do you behave in your lessons?

always good

mostly good

OK

some messing about

a lot of messing about

g. How many of your lessons do you enjoy?

all of them most of them some of them only a few none at all

h. What do you think of homework? (please tick 1 answer)

I like having something to do and I enjoy it

I like some of it and I try my best to do it all

I don't like it, but I still make an effort to do it properly

I do it sometimes, but I don't always try that hard

I don't like it and I do as little as I can get away with

i. Will a member of staff look after you if you have a problem in school? (please tick 1 answer)

I think most of the staff would help me to sort things out
There are a few people I could go to and they would help
I don't know who I'd go to but I think somebody would help me
I am not sure what would happen
No one would help – I'd have to sort it out myself

j. How do you rate this school? (please tick 1 answer)

I think this is a really good school
The school is good, but a few things could be better
This school is OK
The school is not that good
This is a poor school

k. What do you think of the uniform? (please tick 1 answer)
It looks good and I am happy to wear it
It looks good but it can be a bit of a pain
It's OK
I don't like it, but I suppose we have to have one
I don't think we should have a uniform

l. What do your parent/carers think of this school? (please tick 1 answer)

This is a really good school
The school is good, but a few things could be better
This school is OK
The school is not that good
This is a poor school

m. Are you going to take part in any school activities other than lessons? (you may already do some)
Yes loads quite a lot some just a few none

4. About Education

a. How do you feel about being successful at school?

It is the most important thing in my life

It is very important to do well and I always try my best

I would like to do well and I usually try my best

Doing well is good but not that important

I don't care about doing well

b. How much do your parents/carers talk to you about school?

loads quite a lot some not much hardly ever

B. Questions from the Student Follow-up Attitudinal Questionnaire

This questionnaire began by repeating the following sections of the

Initial Attitudinal Questionnaire:

- How good do you think you are in the following subjects?
- About your New School: questions a to g and j. (The word "New" was omitted from the title

The questionnaire concluded with the following questions about ability groupings:

Is your set for Maths:

too low / too high / about right

Is your set for English:

too low / too high / about right

Are you happy with the sets you are in?

yes / no / they are OK / don't care

C. Questions from the Student Capital Questionnaire

1. Things that you do

a. How often do you do the following things in your time outside school? (Students circled 1 of the following for each item)

Often Quite a bit Sometimes Hardly ever Never

Watch TV

Play Computer Games

Play outdoor sports/cycling

Play indoor sports

Go to friend's' house (NOT sleepover)

Go to friend's house and sleep over

Go to a museum or art gallery

Use the internet (not games)

Use mobile phone

Go to the cinema

Go to see a play at a Theatre

Do voluntary work

Go to a football match/sports event

Go to concerts (any type of music)

Going to concerts (classical music)

Listening to music (any type)

Listening to classical music

Watch a DVD at home

Cook a meal

Go to a dance or singing group

Do something creative (write a story/poem, paint/draw a picture, play a musical instrument, take part in a drama group, etc – But NOT homework)

b. Do you play a musical instrument? (please circle) Yes No

If Yes, what instrument(s) do you play?……

Do you have lessons from a teacher? (please circle) Yes No

2. Internet and computers

How often do you use the Internet for the following things:
(Students circled 1 of the following for each item)

Often Quite a bit Sometimes Hardly ever Never

Contact/talk with friends

Downloading music/films etc

Playing games (non-educational)

Homework/study/educational games

Name your 3 favourite computer games?
(If you don't play any games, leave blank)

Do you have a games console? Yes No If yes, which one(s)?

How much time do you spend on the computer/games console on a normal day? (please circle)

None Less than 1 hour 1 -2 hours 2 – 3 hours more than 3 hours

3. What TV programmes do you watch regularly? Name as many as you can.

4. Books

a. How often do you read books NOT connected with your school work? (please circle)

Never Hardly ever about 1 a month about 1 a week over 1 a week

b. Name some books (NOT connected with school work) that you have read recently:

c. Are you a member of a public library? Yes No

d. Do you have any favourite authors or books? Yes No

If yes, what/who are they?

e. Do you ever read a newspaper or magazine? Yes No

If Yes, which newspapers/magazines?

f. How many books are there in your home?

Less than 10
A few (10 – 25)
1 bookcase (25 – 100)
2 bookcases (101 – 200)
3 bookcases (201 – 300)
4 bookcases (301 – 400)
A room full (401 – 600)
More than a room full (601 +)

5. You and Your Family

a. Who lives with you?

Adults (tick one option):

Mother and Father
Mother and Stepfather
Father and Stepmother
Just Mother
Just Father
Other (write below)

Brothers and Sisters (include step/half brothers and sisters who live with you, or have left home in the last 3 years)

Number of Brothers Ages of Brothers

Number of Sisters Ages of Sisters

b. Do any of the adults living with you have a disability? Yes No

If 'Yes' please give the name or description:

Do any of your bothers/sisters living with you have a disability? Yes No

If 'Yes' please give the name or a description of the disability:

c. If you only live with one parent, or with a step parent, are you in regular contact with your other parent? Tick one

Yes – at least once a week

Yes – about once a fortnight

Yes – every few weeks

Only occasionally

Rarely or never

d. Parents' Jobs – for the next questions your mother and father are the people you think of as your mother and father – this may include step parents, or your main carers.

Does your mother have a job? (please circle) Yes No

Does your father have a job? (please circle) Yes No

e. If Yes – describe their job…..If No – describe the last job they had….If they have not had a job, leave blank

<u>Mother</u> <u>Father</u>

Name of job Name of job

Is the job: Full time Part time Is the job: Full time Part time

Do they have their own business? Do they have their own business?

Yes…….No……. Yes…….No…….

f. Holidays: How often do you go away together as a family?

Family holiday (at least one week):

every year more than once a year less than once a year never

Short breaks (less than a week)

every year more than once a year less than once a year never

g. List the holidays/short breaks you have been on as a family in the last year saying:

Where you went (country/place)
Where you stayed (hotel/YHA/caravan/cottage/tent etc)
How long for

6. Where you live

a. Which best describes your home? (please circle)

flat

terraced house

Semi-detached house

detached house

other (please describe)

b. How many of the following does your home have?

Bedrooms……Baths……Showers……Toilets……Living Rooms…….

c. Does you have a garage? (please circle) Yes No

d. Describe the garden: (please circle)

small medium large no garden

e. Is your home: (please circle)

rented Owned by your family Don't know

f. If ‘Owned by your family’ do your parents have a mortgage? (please circle)

Yes No Don’t know

g. Describe your area? (please circle)

Really good Quite good OK Not too good Terrible

7. Transport

a. Does your family have a car? (please circle)

No Yes – one car Yes – more than one car (how many…….)

List the makes/models

8. You and your family’s interests

a. How often have you heard adults in your house talking about these things? (Students circled 1 of the following for each item)

Often Quite a bit Sometimes Hardly ever Never

Sport

Art

Politics

Books

TV

Work

Religion

The News

Music

Friends

School

b. What Radio stations do your parents listen to? (If they don't listen to the radio, put none)

c. What TV programmes do they like?

d. Do your parents have any hobbies or interests?

Mother

Father

9. Famous People: Which thing do you think these people are famous for? If you are not sure – don't guess – circle not sure. (Students circled 1 of the following for each entry)

Politics Music Sport Writing Art Acting Science Not Sure

Barack Obama
Pablo Picasso
Judi Dench
Albert Einstein
Beethoven
Shakespeare
Joseph Stalin
Charles Dickens
Stephen Hawking
Wendy Cope
L. S. Lowry
Marie Curie
J. S. Bach
Margaret Thatcher
Colin Firth
Jane Austen
Claude Monet
Chopin

Appendix 2: All the Variables used

Num	SPSS Code	Label	Data Type
1	Gen	Gender	Nominal
2	Eth1	Ethnicity Level a	Nominal
3	Eth2	Ethnicity Level b	Nominal
4	FSM	Free School Meals Claimed	Nominal
5	EAL	English as an Additional Language	Nominal
6	SENrg	On SEN Register	Nominal
7	GTreg	On G & T Register	Nominal
8	Attyr7	Percentage Attendance yr 7	Scale
9	Birth	Month of Birth (1=Sept, 12=Aug)	Scale
10	Pa	What did you think of your Primary School	Scale
11	Pb	How much did you learn in your primary school?	Scale
12	Pc	What did you think of the teachers in your primary school?	Scale
13	Pd	Did the teachers like you?	Scale
14	Pe	What did you think of the other children?	Scale
15	Pf	Did you have many friends in your primary school?	Scale
16	Sa	Are the teachers nice people?	Scale
17	Sb	Would you say they are good teachers?	Scale
18	Sc	Are the teachers fair?	Scale
19	Sd	How much work do you do in your lessons?	Scale
20	Se	How do other students behave in your lessons?	Scale
21	Sf	How do you behave in your lessons?	Scale
22	Sg	How many of your lessons do you enjoy?	Scale
23	Sh	What do you think of homework?	Scale
24	Si	Will a member of staff look after you if you have a problem in school?	Scale
25	Sj	How do you rate this school?	Scale
26	Sk	What do you think of the uniform?	Scale
27	Sl	Are you going to take part in any school activities other than lessons?	Scale
28	Sm	How do you feel about being successful at school?	Scale
29	Sn	How much do your parents/carers talk to you about school?	Scale
30	Aa	How good do you think you are in Maths?	Scale
31	Ab	How good do you think you are in English?	Scale
32	Ac	How good do you think you are in Science?	Scale
33	Ae	How good do you think you are in PE?	Scale
34	Af	How good do you think you are in Humanities?	Scale
35	Ag	How good do you think you are in ICT/Business?	Scale
36	Ah	How good do you think you are in RE/Values?	Scale
37	Ai	How good do you think you are in Technology?	Scale
38	Aj	How good do you think you are in Music?	Scale

39	Ak	How good do you think you are in Art?	Scale
40	Al	How good do you think you are in Drama?	Scale
41	MnAc	Mean Academic Self Concept	Scale
42	MnAcME	Mean Academic Self Concept Maths and English	Scale
43	Hoc1	How popular is the student with other students?	Scale
44	Hoc2	How well does the student relate to staff?	Scale
45	Hoc3	How often does the student have arguments/problems with peers?	Scale
46	Hoc4	Would you describe the student as a leader or a follower?	Scale
47	Hoc5	How socially confident is the student?	Scale
48	Hoc6	Is the student considered tough/hard by other students?	Scale
49	Hoc7	How often does the student get bullied?	Scale
50	Hoc8	How often does the student bully other students?	Scale
51	Hoc9	How positive/negative is the student's attitude to school?	Scale
52	tutor	How does the student's behaviour and performance in school reflect the values of Grace Academy?	Scale
53	MotAutraw	Motivation Raw Mean Score Autumn 2010	Scale
54	MotSumraw7	Motivation Raw Mean Score Summer 2011	Scale
55	SetMa	Set out of 3 for Maths	Nominal
56	SetEng	Set out of 4 for English	Nominal
57	comset	Combined Set position	Scale
58	toprest	Students in All Top Sets and Others	Nominal
59	Beh123yr7	Behaviour Consequences for Classroom Disruption yr 7	Scale
60	BehDTs	Behaviour: Detentions	Scale
61	locare	Local Area Assessment (researcher rating)	Scale
62	c6garea	Describe your area?	Scale
63	cc1aTV	How often do you watch TV?	Scale
64	cc1bcom	How often do you play computer games?	Scale
65	cc1cspout	How often do you play outdoor sports?	Scale
66	cc1dspin	How often do you play indoor sports?	Scale
67	cc1efr	How often do you go to a friend’s house?	Scale
68	cc1fslover	How often do you go to a sleep over?	Scale
69	cc1gmsgal	How often do you go to a museum or art gallery?	Scale
70	cc1hint	How often do you use the internet (not games)?	Scale
71	cc1imob	How often do you use a mobile phone?	Scale
72	cc1jcin	How often do you go the cinema?	Scale
73	cc1kthea	How often do you go see a play at a theatre?	Scale
74	cc1lvol	How often do you do voluntary work?	Scale
75	cc1mspeve	How often do you go to a sporting event?	Scale
76	cc1ncon	How often do you go to concerts (any kind)?	Scale
77	cc1oclcon	How often do you go to concerts (classical music)?	Scale
78	cc1plismu	How often do you listen to music (any kind)?	Scale
79	cc1qliclas	How often do you listen to music (classical)?	Scale
80	cc1rdvd	How often do you watch a DVD at home?	Scale
81	cc1smeal	How often do you cook a meal for friends or family?	Scale

82	cc1tdangr	How often do you go to dance, drama, or singing groups?	Scale
83	cc1ucre	How often do you do something creative?	Scale
84	cc1vmuless	Do you play a musical instrument?	Scale
85	cc2aintsoc	How often do you use the internet to contact/talk with friends?	Scale
86	cc2bmufil	How often do you use the internet to download music or films?	Scale
87	cc2cgames	How often do you use the internet to play games?	Scale
88	cc2ded	How often do you use the internet for homework or study?	Scale
89	cc2econs	Do you have a games console?	Scale
90	cc2fgmtime	How much time do you spend each day on your computer/games console?	Scale
91	cc3tvpr	What TV programmes have you watched recently	Scale
92	cc3news	How often do you watch the news?	Scale
93	cc4bks	How often do you read books (not connected with school work)?	Scale
94	cc4bdqual	Name some book you have read/favourite authors	Scale
95	cc4clib	How often do you go to a public library?	Scale
96	cc4emag	Do you ever read newspapers or magazines? If so, which ones?	Scale
97	cc4fbknums	How many books are there in your home?	Scale
98	cc8asprt	How often have you heard adults in your house talking about sport?	Scale
99	cc8bart	How often have you heard adults in your house talking about art?	Scale
100	cc8cpol	How often have you heard adults in your house talking about politics?	Scale
101	cc8dbks	How often have you heard adults in your house talking about books?	Scale
102	cc8eTV	How often have you heard adults in your house talking about TV?	Scale
103	cc8fwrk	How often have you heard adults in your house talking about work?	Scale
104	cc8grel	How often have you heard adults in your house talking about religion?	Scale
105	cc8hnews	How often have you heard adults in your house talking about the news?	Scale
106	cc8imus	How often have you heard adults in your house talking about music?	Scale
107	cc8jfrds	How often have you heard adults in your house talking about friends?	Scale
108	cc8ked	How often have you heard adults in your house talking about education?	Scale
109	cc8lmpartv	What TV programmes and radio stations do you partns like?	Scale
110	cc8nparhob	Do your parents have any hobbies or interests?	Scale
111	cc9fam	Number of famous cultural figures recognised (max 18)	Scale
112	c6para	Parents in family home: level a	Nominal
113	c6parcon	Contact with absent parent/s	Scale
114	c6dpajob	Parental jobs: highest category in household	Scale
115	c6fghols	Holidays and outings ratings	Scale
116	c7car	Family Car Ownership	Scale
117	Siblings	Number of Siblings in Home	Scale

118	parjobrecode	Parents' jobs: highest in household	Nominal
119	Mathsetlev	Satisfaction with Maths set level	Scale
120	Engsetlev	Satisfaction with English set level	Scale
121	Setsat	Are you happy with the sets you are in?	Nominal
122	fina	Are the teachers nice people? (yr 9)	Scale
123	finb	Are the teachers good teachers? (yr 9)	Scale
124	finc	Are the teachers fair? (yr 9)	Scale
125	find	How much work do you do in lessons? (yr9)	Scale
126	fine	How do other students behave in your lessons? (yr9)	Scale
127	finf	How do you behave in your lessons? (yr9)	Scale
128	fing	How many lessons do you enjoy? (yr9)	Scale
129	finh	How do you rate this school? (yr9)	Scale
130	FAC1inatt	REGR factor score: Initial Self-Reported Attitude to Teachers and Lessons	Scale
131	FAC2prim	REGR factor score: Attitude to Primary School	Scale
132	FAC4Teyr8	REGR factor score: Attitude to Teachers (end of yr 8)	Scale
133	FAC52lesyr8	REGR factor score: Attitude to Lessons (end of yr 8)	Scale
134	FAC6pastech	REGR factor score: Combined Pastoral Practitioner and Classroom Teacher Outcomes	Scale
135	FAC7soccom	REGR factor score: Pastoral Practitioner Perceived Social Competence in School	Scale
136	FAC8cucapgen	REGR factor score: Cultural Capital: Books, Cultural Knowledge, and Education	Scale
137	FAC10disc	REGR factor score: Discussion of Contemporary Moral Issues in the Home	Scale
138	FAC11creatact	REGR factor score: Participation in Creative Activities	Scale
139	FAC12geneco	REGR factor score: Economic Capital Profile	Scale
140	parconrec	Parental contact level	Nominal
141	MnAcrecode1	Initial academic Self Concept Group	Nominal
142	culcapgroups	Cultural Capital Groups	Nominal
143	econcapgroups	Economic Capital Groups	Nominal
144	inatttelesgrps	Initial Attitude to Teachers and Lessons Groups	Nominal

Appendix 3

Examples of High Specification Cars

Acura (Honda) - all models
Alfa Romeo - Guilieta, Alpha 4C
Aston Martin - all models
Audi - TT, A4 to A7, Q3 to Q7
Bentley - all models
BMW - all models
Bugatti - all models
Cadillac - all models
Chevrolet - Corvette, Captiva, Camaro, Volt
Chrysler - Grand Voyager, 300c
Citroen - DS5
Ferrari - all models
Ford - Mustang
Hummer - all models
Hyundai - Santa Fe
Infiniti - all models
Isuzu - Blade
Jaguar - all models
Jeep - Cherokee
Jensen - all models
Kia - Sorento
Lamborghini - all models
Land Rover - all models
Lexus - all models
Lotus - all models
Maserati - all models
Mercedes-Benz - all models
Mitsubishi - Shogun, Outlander, Evolution
Nissan - 37OZ, GT-R, X-trail, Qashqai plus
Porsche - all models
Renault - Renaultsport range

Rolls-Royce - all models

Skoda - Superb

Subaru - Outback, WRX STi

Toyota - Prius, Land Cruiser

Vauxhall - Ampera

Volkswagen - Toureg, Golf-GTi, Phaeton, Cabriolet

Volvo - V70, XC series